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NATURAL LAW IN SPIRITUAL PROGRESS.

And he said, So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how. For the earth bringeth forth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. But when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come.—St. Mark iv. 26-29.

This little parable, embedded here in St. Mark's Gospel, contains one of the most striking and far-reaching of the thoughts of Christ. The figure is so simple and so much alike other parables that like a gem hidden in the common clay it attracts little notice. Indeed only as the ages have come and gone has the fuller meaning of the parable been gradually seen; and men are still in their impatience slow to grasp its true significance.

It forms one of a triad of parables that borrow their similitude from the work of the husbandman. The parable of the Sower makes prominent the fact that the germinating of the seed depends on the condition of the soil on which it falls; the parable of the Tares tells us that seed is being sown other than the true seed, and that bad and good must grow together until the harvest. The present parable teaches us that apart altogether from the nature of the soil, apart from the character of the seed sown, the development of the seed is dependent on the moral activity of those in whom the kingdom of God has made a beginning, and that this development must, in accordance with the law of God, be a slow and progressive work. This will become clearer as we proceed.

The kingdom of God is used very variously in the New Testament. Here we may take it as meaning the realization, the fulfilment of that divine thought and idea that Christ set before him to sow upon the minds of men,—a world purified and redeemed, where love, humane, all-embracing, should reign, where earthly passions

and the selfishness of men would give place to divine sympathy and obedience to God's will,—a kingdom where evil and sin would yield to righteousness and goodness.

For the purposes of practical application this parable has often been applied to picture the development of the Christian life in the individual, but this is permissible only as a secondary application, perfectly true, but true only because the perfection of the individual is needed for the perfection of society. Nor is the kingdom here, as some would interpret it, the visible Church growing and expanding in numbers till it embraces mankind. The parable gives the relation between Christ and men, nothing less, nothing narrower: it points in its final issue to a purified humanity in perfect submission to the Divine Lord and King.

On the question when and where this perfect state shall be fully realized opinion is divided, whether in some distant age, on this earth of ours, or in another world beyond the present; but this was the harvest our Lord saw in the far future, covering the fields of the world with gold, a harvest, he knew, must come, for *he* had sown the seed. This was the vision that filled the mind of the great husbandman as he scattered the seed. For this he worked, for this he lived, and it was this great reality that gave him strength, and sustained him amid seemingly hopeless sowing.

But this great harvest was far away. How was it to be attained? The answer to this we shall more easily understand if we consider the kingdom according to the figure of the parable under the three successive stages—the sowing, the growth, and the reaping.

The sowing of the seed. What is the seed that bore so fateful issues in itself? A seed of infinite meaning read in the light of history, but to those in Christ's time who looked on with worldly eyes, small as the grain of mustard. To the spiritual eye of the old Simeon the babe in the temple was the glory of Israel, and a light to lighten the Gentiles, but the thronging crowd in Jerusalem saw nothing. Yet Simeon's vision was the truth. The seed of the kingdom was there, Christ's self, his life, his death, the whole complex influence of his words and deeds—these he cast into the soil of human life. His revelation of God, and of human worth, his perfect sacrifice, his sanctified ideals—that was the seed he committed to the mind of man. Be the results large or small, the seed of the kingdom was sown when Christ left his disciples.

The seed which Christ cast into human history was a new element brought into it. It is true the soul of man with all its forces and

activities must nourish and care for it, but here at the outset a new thing was brought into the world. No preparation of the soil, however careful, will by itself fill the barns of the farmer. The field may be tilled, and cared for, till it becomes clean and rich as a garden, but we shall look and wait in vain for the green blade of the waving corn, if the husbandman has passed across the brown earth with empty hands. A thing with life, a thing with the possibility of growth, of development, a real living germ, must be cast upon the earth. That living germ was Christ's life. With his own hands he sowed it. He came into this world, with a field to sow, and his own good time to reap, and he scattered the seed that was to ripen,—seed that was no more product of nature's laws. It was a new seed that the soil of human life would not have known, had not Christ come as the husbandman to sow it. The fields of life would have lain barren, and wind-swept, but that the divine husbandman had sown within them the life-giving germs of a glorious harvest.

The time of sowing is a time of anxiety and strain. When the sowing is over the husbandman can do no more. He may rest or turn to other work, but while the sowing goes on he must exercise all due care, for the hopes of the year lie on it. The sowing for the harvest of the world was no light-hearted labour. The master-painters of the Middle Ages made it the ideal of their art to paint Christ, and the face that lives on their canvas is the face of the 'man of sorrows acquainted with grief'. It was ever pressing on the Redeemer's spirit that he was here to labour. "I must work the works of Him that sent me" rested heavily upon him from boyhood to the cross. And, at the end, the cry that was wrung from him in his pain and agony was, "I have finished the work that thou gavest me to do."

Thus in labour and toil the seed was sown; his work done, the sower had to leave it. He would come again with his sickle when the fields were yellow in the autumn, but until then it must be left to other influences.

The growth. In this lies the main idea of the parable. Christ holds out no hope that the growth will be rapid, and the harvest soon. The parable was not understood by the early Church. The idea that this divine seed was like all else in God's world, subject to the slow operations of natural law, was a product of later ages, and even yet is inadequately realised. Men looked for the putting in of the sickle ere Christ's own generation had passed away, and

all down the succeeding ages men have interpreted prophecy as announcing the immediate coming of our Lord to reap. The sickle *will* be put in in Christ's own time when the harvest is ripe, but meanwhile the seed must grow.

The development of the kingdom is dependent on the moral activities of those in whom it is implanted. Here is the mystery of the kingdom, God and man together. The furtherance of God's purpose is in some sense dependent upon man. The growth of the seed is conditioned by the properties of the soil into which it is cast. The elements of the soil are transmuted into the living plant. So closely interwoven are the divine and human, that never again can they be separated.

Christ cast the seed into human history. There it lay, a living germ to be subjected to all the various influences that human life would bring to bear on it. "The characters and thoughts of men would tell on it." The strifes and wars and passions of men would beat upon it, but only to strengthen, not likely to destroy. The husbandman could do no more, he must leave it to the soil and yet not altogether to the soil, for the light of heaven would enwrap it, and the moisture from above would refresh it. Without the light of heaven enfolding, it could come to nothing, without the warmth from above it would rot in the cold soil, without the moisture it would wither away. The influences of heaven unite with those of earth to bring it to maturity. The husbandman watches with tender care and anxiety the plant his own hand had planted. Christ's sowing was done when he passed away from earth, but with tender care he watches still the growth of his kingdom. The influences of the Spirit fall on human hearts and quicken into life the germs that Christ planted. Doubtless the growth of the kingdom depends on the moral activites of mankind, on the laws and processes established by God, but not the laws of the fatalist, not blind force. Progress is not conditioned by human activities apart from God. The Spirit enriches the soil of the human heart with heavenly grace. In this lies the certainty of ultimate fruition.

But the progress is slow; generation after generation, age after age, cycle after cycle, and the end is not yet. Christ was content to wait. If men are sometimes impatient, Christ was not. "First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." The kingdom would grow, but it would grow slowly. Christ looked for nothing else. Men have been slow to learn this. They admit it in the natural world, but the spiritual is different, and yet it has been

shown that the higher the thing is in the scale of being, the slower is its growth. The very slowness of the progress, as we see when we compare one century with another, and our incalculable distance yet from anything approaching to the ideal kingdom that Christ saw, seems only to show that the kingdom that God is thus slowly developing throughout the ages will be something far vaster and grander than we have been able even faintly to grasp. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor have entered into the heart of man the things God hath prepared for them that love him."

The progress is not only slow, it is graduated. It is a real growth. In this too it corresponds to all we see in the working of the laws of nature. No farmer yet ever found the order changed, no farmer ever will find it so. The gradation in the spiritual kingdom is just as marked, and as certain as in the natural. There is a green blade in the spiritual life of the world, and that must come long before the ripe corn in the ear. To describe these stages in the spiritual life of a nation would be largely conjectural. It is easier in the case of the individual.* The young green blade is the emblem of tenderness, the young Christian life is fresh, full of gladness, with mind untarnished by the dust and mildew of the world. The corn in the ear is an advance, but not without loss. The tenderness of the early green has gone, it is a time of immaturity, the time, we are sometimes ready to say, of declension, of losing fervour, the time of unrealized ideals, the time when simple endurance, simple holding on is most called for. The full corn in the ear marks maturity in the Christian life, the fulness, the richness, the mellowness of it. It is easy to recall lives illustrating these stages :—the glow of early enthusiasm, combined with immaturity, the ripeness of age, with its strength and fulness of experience, the middle stage, less interesting, like the tree between the blossom and the fruit, but all-important for the harvest. Such as these may be taken to be the stages of progress in the individual Christian life. The stages in the life of a nation or of the world towards the final consummation are more speculative. But if we find in a nation a growing appreciation of the moral ideals of Christ, a growing reverence for his life of self-forgetfulness, and sacrifice, if we find that these are beginning to awaken a sense of responsibility towards other men, more particularly the wronged and the oppressed, if we see the faint beginnings of social movements to set

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* See Bruce, *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ.*

wrong right, if we see indications, however small, of the beginnings of a national conscience against corruption;—if we see these things in however faint a degree, may we not see in them the faint shade of green that begins to cover the soil, imperceptible almost, yet there? The earth to-day may be still brown, but not so brown as yesterday; the greenish tinge begins to catch the eye, though it has not yet reached the stage of the blade; and to the eye of faith in the ultimate fulfilment of God's purposes, there lies in that faint hue the promise and potency of the harvest. The harvest may be far away, but if the husbandman has sown the seed, it will unquestionably come. In this we may rest assured, for the laws of that spiritual growth are controlled by one whose purposes fail not.

The reaping. Between the sowing and the reaping the husbandman must wait. During all the weeks of summer his care and anxiety were there, but he could not hasten the harvest. But at last when the golden ears of corn hang heavy in the mellowing sunlight of the year, once again he breaks in upon the laws of nature. There is no delay now: "as soon as the fruit is ripe, immediately he putteth in the sickle." Once again, too, at the harvesting of the kingdom, will Christ come. His time of waiting will be over. When and where and how the harvest will take place we know not. It must be enough for us that Christ will be the reaper. What the harvest will be we do not know, but when he comes we shall be like him. This is the Christian hope, the Christian faith. The reaping time and the joy of the harvest home must in some sense be real, real as the seed time and the growth. Then will be realized the fulness of that idea the seed of which was sown long ago on the fields of Galilee and Judæa. Then will be the consummation of the kingdom of God. "The throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and his servants shall serve him, and they shall see his face, and his name shall be in their foreheads, and there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever."

In conclusion I would point out one or two practical reflections. In the first place, we come in contact with young men who are impatient and despairing. They do not see the world growing better. Evil and injustice still abound. Love to God and man is dying out. The progress of the years, with their growing civilization and education, is only carrying man further adrift from God, into the deadness and eternal hopelessness of a great atheism. Let such

consider Christ's certain hope for a rich harvest. And because he believed, let them believe also. Let them repose in his judgment. Let them study afresh the whole story of his life, and yield themselves anew to the influence of his thought. Let them fall back upon him, and casting away all criticism of the methods men take to bring to fulfilment Christ's ideals, let them learn anew to labour, wait, and pray.

In the second place, it takes a long time ere the properties of the soil be transmuted into the plant, and the husbandman has many causes for anxiety. There are the drought and the chill, and the blight and the storm. And for the individual, too, growth must be slow. We do not *leap* to perfection. There are influences abroad that may work ruin. But the Holy Spirit labours to transmute all the multiplied and adverse experiences and vicissitudes of life into a beautified and sanctified character.

Lastly, Christ commits to us the success of his labour and travail. We are fellow-labourers with him, we are to watch with him the growth of the seed he has sown. He believes that we will enter into his labours, and consecrate our lives to his kingdom. He allows us to become sharers in his suffering, and with him "to enter into his glory."

GEORGE PITTENDRIGH.

WORDSWORTH AND HIS MISSION:—II.

FOR more than a century before Wordsworth, poets had been content to skip over the surface of the boundless and awful tracts of humanity and the external world, under the guidance of conventional sentiments. Thomson, Burns, Crabbe, and Cowper had indeed attempted to strike out of that mechanical path, and anticipate Wordsworth in some measure, but none of them was sufficiently strong and capacious to found a school. Thomson, the earliest forerunner of Wordsworth in the nature movement had a genuine love of nature, though it was never profound. He writes exultingly in the *Castle of Indolence*

> I care not Fortune what you me deny;
> You cannot rob me of free nature's grace;

and though he "formed the magic of his song," as he puts it, from impulses caught from natural phenomena, he never penetrated into the depths of nature. He was satisfied with the picturesqueness of

mere external form. He himself confesses this in his *Seasons*, where he writes :—

> To me be nature's volume broad displayed,
> And to peruse its all instructing page,
> Or, haply catching inspiration thence,
> *Some easy passage, raptured, to translate,*
> *My sole delight.*

Turning from the turgidity of Thomson we see in Gray's Elegy that dainty interest in nature which may be felt by a man of culture contemplating her from his study windows. The poetry of Burns, of which Carlyle has said that there is a virtue as of green fields and mountain breezes in it, is redolent of natural life and hardy natural men. For Burns, however, nature had no significance apart from the various notes of human feeling, the high and the low, the sad, the ludicrous, and the joyful, for every one of which he had a resonance in his bosom. When he tells us

> There's not a bonnie flower that springs
> By fountain, shaw or green,
> There's not a bonnie bird that sings
> But minds me of my Jean,

he describes his exact attitude towards nature. With all his faithfulness of observation and genuineness of feeling he used nature only as an accessory to the expression of human love and misery. He cannot hear the lay of the wood-lark without being reminded of the hapless human lover and the unfeeling fair who kills him with disdaining, and he is tempted to ask of the bird :

> Say, was thy little mate unkind,
> And heard thee as the careless wind ?
> O nocht but love and sorrow joined
> Sic notes of woe could waken.

The heroine of the *Banks of Doon* chides the blooming banks and the chanting birds for not sympathising with her in her cares ; while the lovesick swain troubled at heart that his "Nannie's awa" sends up a planitive cry that every adjunct of spring or summer may disappear and pensive autumn or dark, dreary winter may soon settle upon the land. The knowledge, again, that spring has clad the grove in green, and decked the lea with flowers, serves merely as a background for pourtraying vividly the careworn face and the blighted bloom of the lovelorn shepherd ; while the freshness and fragrance and artless simplicity of the flowers "adown winding

Nith" amuse the poet's fancy only as emblematical of his incomparable Phillis the Fair.

Crabbe, who has been described with more point than truth as "Nature's sternest painter yet the best," claims kinship with the poets we have been shortly reviewing, because of his loving and minute observation of nature. It has been well said of him that he paints the very blades of grass on the common, and the trail of the shellfish on the sand. His *microscopic accuracy* of observation, however, rendered him unfit to take a comprehensive view of either nature or humanity.

In another spirit did Cowper regard nature. He is the poet of nature in her mild moods, not in her grander manifestations. Her mountains and their terrors, her oceans and their mysteries he does not approach, but through her woodlands, along her rippling streams, and by her green fields, he delights to stroll. He is, besides, the poet of law and order. He regarded nature only as affording proof of the goodness and wisdom of a personal creator. Everything in nature was viewed by him "as meant to indicate a God to man." In plagues and tempests, in floods and earthquakes, "God proclaimed his hot displeasure" against the sin of man. In all the sights and shows of the external world, he witnessed the hand of God, and according to him

Happy the man who sees a God employed
In all the good and ill that checker life.

If such were the uses to which Nature was put by her votaries before Wordsworth, what was Wordsworth's own conception of Nature and his attitude towards her? What was there remarkable in his teachings that served to make him the founder of a new school of poetry? It was a favourite notion of Wordsworth's that every poet should be a teacher; and if it be asked: "What did he teach or reveal?" we may answer that he revealed the spiritual aspects of the external world and the moral depths of the inner man. To interpret Nature to man and man to nature, to teach everything that is highest and best in them, to consider them as acting and reacting on each other and producing by their mutual action a limitless complexity of pains and pleasures,—such was the theme of his poetry. To him all nature was a living presence. As Mr. Hutton has remarked, he was the most solitary among poets: and in his solitude he befriended nature and educed emotion from, rather than added emotion to, her. He was, besides, an idealist;

and it was reserved for him to show how the sympathetic contemplation of nature may be made a revealing agency, may become a stimulus to grasp (if that be possible) the mysteries of the transcendental world. Mr. Myers, in his admirable monograph on Wordsworth, writes; "In the natural religion of Wordsworth, we may discern the modified outcome of those instincts which led our forefathers to people earth and air with deities, or to vivify the whole universe with a single soul. In this view, the achievement of Wordsworth was of a kind which most of the moral leaders of the race have in some way or other performed. It was that he turned a theology back again into a religion; that he revived in a higher and purer form those primitive elements of reverence for Nature's powers which had diffused themselves into speculation or crystallized into mythology; that for a system of beliefs about nature, which paganism had allowed to become grotesque—of rites which had become unmeaning—he substituted an admiration for Nature so constant, an understanding of her so subtle, a sympathy so profound, that they became a veritable worship." This new cult of nature which Wordsworth established was, for all practical purposes, a suprise and a revelation to mankind. He taught—though to most ears his teachings at first were meaningless—how in the sweet music of the woodland linnet there is more wisdom than in the "dull and endless strife" of books. He asked his fellowmen to harken to the preaching of the throstle, to "come forth into the light of things," and to accept nature as their teacher. He clothed the visible world with a new glory, and showed how if we had in our minds "such stores as silent thought can bring," we should find a tale in even the commonest circumstances and objects, and in the lowliest persons moving in the dullest, the most ordinary environment. He worked to make people *feel* the beauties of the external world and the essential dignity of the human soul, and desired to show how life ceases to be worth living when we fail to see nothing in nature that is ours. All his life long he was keenly sensitive to the sublimity of nature, her beauty and her loftier significances. He wrote of himself:

My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die.

So enthusiastic is his worship of nature that he unhesitatingly exclaims:

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can.

In this spirit was written his *Tintern Abbey*, so aptly characterized by Mr. Myers as the *locus classicus* or consecrated formulary of the Wordsworthian faith. In that poem we are told how besides the delight in mere external form, there exists for those who understand how to use their eyes, a deeper, a more ethereal and a more soul-elevating delight. He shows how to the beauteous forms of nature we may owe, in our hours of weariness, sweet sensations and

Feelings of unremembered pleasure: such perhaps,
As have no slight or trivial influence
On that best portion of a good man's life,
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love.

He shows how to them again we may owe another and more valuable gift, namely that serene and blessed mood,

In which the burden of the mystery,
In which the heavy and weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened.

He also teaches how in the contemplation of nature, we may feel

A presence that disturbs us with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky and in the mind of man:
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

He also tells us how we may find

In nature and the language of the sense
The anchor of our purest thoughts, the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of our heart, and soul
Of all our moral being.

Such are the sentiments that Wordsworth has expressed in his poem on Tintern Abbey. Such are some of the influences which he

showed nature has upon man; and all this was then new to mankind. It is no wonder, therefore, that Wordsworth is revered; because to so many men, whatever their ideas of literary or poetic excellence, he has revealed by the intensity and subtlety of his own emotions, how the contemplation of nature may, like love or prayer, like beatific vision or prophetic rapture, be made to open heaven; because he has shown how "in a season of calm weather"—in a rainbow, a glorious sunset, a cuckoo's cry, a mountain echo,—our souls have, in spite of the "shades of the prison-house" closing upon us, "sight of that immortal sea that brought us hither."

And how did the poet convey his teaching to the people? It is well known that he rejected the dressy exaggerated style that had long passed current for poetic diction. To Wordsworth, the language of good poetry seemed to differ in no way from that of good prose. Though this sentiment of Wordsworth's has long been a stock subject of ridicule amongst carping critics, Coleridge has clearly shown that all that his friend really meant was to enforce the language of nature and good sense, in preference to a stereotyped phraseology. Wordsworth really desired a neutral style, common alike to poetry and to prose, direct and natural, yet dignified and attractive. To his writings more than to anything else, we owe the disappearance from English poetry of the gaudy and intolerable affectation of style which had been in vogue from the time of Dryden.

From all this it will be seen that Wordsworth's poetical work is the noble landmark of a great transition both in thought and in style. He drew poetry aside from questions and interests of mere society and the town to the scenes of nature and the deepest and most genuine feelings of the human heart. In style he refused to employ the conventional vocabulary of the school of Pope and used the simplest words in the most natural and the most direct fashion. His special feature was the keenness with which he perceived poetical elements and his bold reliance on the simple forces of expression. He had the gift of spreading the tone and the atmosphere of the ideal around objects, incidents, and situations of which custom had "dried up the sparkle and the dewdrops." "He saw," says Dean Church, "that the familiar scenes of human life—nature as affecting human life and feeling, and man as the fellow-creature of nature, but also separate and beyond it in faculties and destiny—had not yet rendered up even to the mightiest of former poets all that they had in them to touch the human heart, and he accepted

it as his mission to open the eyes and widen the thoughts of his countrymen, and to teach them to discern in the humblest and most unexpected forms, the presence of what was kindred to what they had long recognised as the highest and greatest." Wordsworth specifically tells us that his "favourite school hath been the fields, the roads, and rural lanes." In his *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle* occur those four memorable lines which have since passed into household words to express the Wordsworthian spirit:—

> Love had he found in huts where poor men lie;
> His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
> The silence that is in the starry sky,
> The sleep that is among the lonely hills.

Great, indeed, as the power of nature always was upon him on her own account, she was of importance to him also in her relation to humanity. In this latter respect his works are, of all English poems, the most completely outside the sphere of Shakespeare's universal genius. Not only was man ennobled in his sight by the action of nature upon him, but nature herself owed not a little of her lofty significance for him to the corresponding reaction of man upon her. In his own words :—

> "*Thanks to the human heart by which we live,*
> *Thanks to its tenderness, its joys and fears,*
> To me the meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

As the leader of the democratic movement in letters no less than as the high priest of the temple of nature, Wordsworth served to root out the reign of conventionality in literature. His poetry was a strong and systematic appeal to the craving for reality which arose with the French Revolution. Unswerving loyalty to truth,—truth that could be arrived at only by introspection and true poetic imagination—is a characteristic feature of all that Wordsworth wrote. His predecessors had but partially recognised that truth in its limitless but always self-consistent forms, is the foundation principle of poetry; and it was reserved for Wordsworth to discover the full significance of this law and to proclaim it to the world. Wordsworth was a reformer, and with the robust self-confidence natural to reformers, he insisted that the entire range of the beautiful and the pathetic, the tragic and the heroic, were to be found in lowly cottages as assuredly as in lordly mansions, in unpretending bucolic poetry no less than in the epic, or in the

drama. If man would but *think*, he would be affected not only by the tragedy of a Lear or a Desdemona, but also by such humble tragedies in actual life as Michael; nay, he would recognise that there was as much worthy of the poet's art in the poverty of Alice Fell and the agonies of the mother of the Idiot Boy, as in the 'majestic pains' of Laodamia and the untold sufferings of Prometheus. Like his own Skylark, Wordsworth in his poetic range soared to the heavens, and dropped into a lowly nest as well. He delighted to build a princely throne on humble truth. He boldly went to the ordinary walks, to the feelings of our universal nature, to the common growths of mother Earth, for beautiful and touching themes. One grand truth that his work discloses is that the greatness or littleness of man is not to be measured by the artificial standards of fashion, birth, and pride; that Beauty, far from being confined to the rare and the new, is poured forth profusely on the common earth and the sky, that it shines from the meanest flower and illumines the humblest sphere. His writings show that the sweetest and chastest affections live also in the lowliest hearts, and that even when the intellect is undeveloped, the sacredness of domestic relations quietly nourishes that disinterestedness which is an essential element of all greatness. Wordsworth is the poet of humanity no less than of nature. He has himself summed up his poetical doctrine with his usual earnestness in the Thirteenth Book of the *Prelude*.

> Here might I pause, and bend in reverence
> To Nature, and the power of human minds,
> To men as they are men within themselves.
> ... ...
> Of these, said I, shall be my song; of these
> Will I record the praises, making verse
> Deal boldly with substantial things; in truth
> And sanctity of passion, speak of these,
> That justice may be done, obeisance paid
> Where it is due: thus haply shall I teach,
> .. .. my theme
> No other than the very heart of man,
> As found amongst the best of those who live,
> ... ... Thence may I select
> Sorrow that is not sorrow, but delight;
> And miserable love that is not pain
> To hear of, for the glory that redounds
> Therefrom to human kind, and what we are.
> ... ...
> Nature for all conditions wants not power

To consecrate, if we have eyes to see,
The outside of her creatures, and to breathe
Grandeur upon the very humblest face
Of human life. ... ...
... ... the forms
Of Nature have a passion in themselves,
That intermingles with those works of man
To which she summons him ... ..
... the Genius of the Poet hence
May boldly take his way among mankind
Wherever Nature leads.

This was Wordsworth's poetical doctrine, which, though strange to his age, has ceased to be so to ours. In his *Hart Leap Well*, he tells us in much simpler strains the subject of his poetic imagination. He writes :

The moving accident is not my trade;
To freeze the blood I have no ready arts;
'Tis my delight, alone, in summer shade,
To pipe a simple song for thinking hearts.

Only once did he try his hand at the moving accident, but there, again, he was more at home in recording the apotheosis of Emily than in describing the gathering of the Nortons.

A paper on Wordsworth would be incomplete if it did not say something about his great poem—the *Excursion*. Coleridge had requested his friend to write a poem for those in whom the French Revolution had shattered all hopes of the amelioration of mankind, and the result was the *Excursion*. It was, of course, a "drowsy, frouzy poem" to the critics of the day, who with hardly a single exception doomed it, in the strongest terms of condemnation, to oblivion. It cannot be denied that in reading the *Excursion* we occasionally light upon passages without passion or excitement, where the necessary interpenetration of will and emotion, of impulse and purpose, is absent. But if the *Excursion* is to be judged by its best passages—and they are countless—hardly any poem in the language is equal to it. "In power of intellect," says Hazlitt, "in lofty conception, in the depth of feeling, at once simple and sublime, which pervades every part of it, and which gives to every object an almost preternatural and preterhuman interest, this work has seldom been surpassed." We cannot now make a careful study of the poem, but there is a passage in the preface where Words-

worth has explained the purpose of his poetry which may be quoted here. He writes :—

Not Chaos, not
The darkest pit of lowest Erebus
... can breed such fear and awe
As fall upon us often when we look
Into our Minds, into the Mind of Man,
My haunt and the main region of my song.
Beauty, a living presence of the earth,
... ... waits upon my steps;
... ... Paradise, and groves
Elysian, Fortunate fields—like those of old,
Sought in the Atlantic Main—why should they be
A history only of departed things,
Or a mere fiction of what never was?
For the discerning intellect of Man,
When wedded to this goodly universe,
In love and holy passion, shall find these
A simple produce of the common day.
—I, long before the blissful hour arrives,
Would chant in lovely peace, the spousal verse
Of this great consummation :—and, by words
Which speak nothing more than what we are,
Would I arouse the sensual from their sleep
Of Death, and win the vacant and the vain
To noble raptures : while my voice proclaims
How exquisitely the individual Mind
(And the progressive powers perhaps no less
Of the whole species) to the external World
Is fitted :—and how exquisitely, too—
Theme this but little heard of among men—
The external World is fitted to the Mind;
And the creation, (by no lower name
Can it be called) which they with blended might
Accomplish :—this is our high argument.

Such was in his own words the high purpose of the *Excursion*, that mansion of faith and hope, lit up all along by the healthy and refreshing thought of a wise and moral government of the universe,

Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good.

We have now considered as fully as circumstances allow the triple theme of Wordsworthian poetry. At a time when rank and station were allowed to monopolize all interest and respect, Wordsworth taught a more catholic sympathy for mankind, and showed that even the humblest of the human race was intrinsically in no

way inferior to the stateliest lord, and deserved from his fellow-men a kindly and often even a reverent regard. When the accepted teachers of the age totally ignored, for purposes of poetic inspiration, the existence of natural scenery in its simplest and also in its wildest forms, Wordsworth withdrew the veil from the face of nature and not only presented her in all her loveliness and in all her majesty, but also, standing at her altar, unlocked the springs of the mighty harmonies that had till then remained dormant. Besides making his brethren behold that everything around them was "very good," he helped them also to recognize in the green earth and the mighty world of eye and ear, the nurse and guide of all their moral being. At a time, again, when the last vestige of law and order seemed to have disappeared, at a time of despair and unfaith, Wordsworth by his unequivocal song reconciled men to life and showed them that there was yet hope in the future of mankind, and that every day, every endeavour of each individual to elevate himself, brought the race nearer to the realization of the glorious ideal. Thus, then, did Wordsworth fulfil his mission. Thus, then, by his inflexible truth, by the unfailing certainty of his observation, by his ardent worship of nature, by the intense humanity of his heart, by his rare combination of deep feeling with profound thought, and above all by his wonderful faculty of adding to all thoughts and all objects "the light that never was on sea or land, the consecration and the poet's dream," Wordsworth continued "to console the afflicted, to add sunshine to daylight by making the happy happier, to teach the young and the gracious of every age to see, to think, and to feel, and therefore to become more actively and securely virtuous." May his writings be to us what John Stuart Mill says they were to him,—a source of inward joy, of sympathetic and imaginative pleasure, opening up to our vision the perennial sources of happiness; and may they also be what the poet himself intended them to be, a message of never ending love, "of serious faith and inward glee."

K. G. SESHA AIYAR.

THE LAST YEARS OF AN EMPIRE :—I.*

AFTER the fall of Golkonda, Aurungzebe was free to turn his attention to the Mahrattas. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole seems to think that the conquest of the Deccan kingdoms was chiefly intended as the first step towards the destruction of this nation of robbers and freebooters, since with their fall the large subsidies paid by them to the Mahrattas would cease. Accordingly a governor was placed in charge of Hyderabad and Golkonda, and the Emperor marched westwards in order to finally crush that 'hell-dog' Sambajee. At first the Emperor's arms were everywhere successful. The whole of the territories belonging to Bijapur and Golkonda were taken possession of by his generals down as far south as Tanjore, So great was the respect shown to the Emperor's authority that it was the custom of his generals to send one of his slippers placed on a splendid howdah, carried by an elephant in gorgeous trappings and conducted by a force of cavalry and infantry. When the slipper arrived at the capital of a native Prince he was expected to meet the slipper outside his capital and conduct it, followed by his nobles and troops with their ensigns lowered, to the Durbar hall in the Palace. There the slipper was placed upon the throne and the Prince himself had to pay it obeisance. This having been done, the general in charge was presented with costly presents, the tribute money was sent to him in sealed bags, and the slipper marched on in state to the next kingdom, where a similar pageant was gone through. On the occasion of a ceremonial procession of this kind soon after the accession of a new king (Runga-Kistna-Naicker, circa 1698) † the slipper, accompanied by twelve thousand cavalry, from thirty to forty thousand infantry, and two Nawabs, arrived outside Trichinopoly and a message was despatched by means of peons with silver sticks and silver breast-plates, that the Imperial mandate had come. "As the king was young he enquired of the *sirdars* about him what this meant. They replied : 'It is the *Padshah's* firman, *i.e.*, a slipper placed in a howdah attended with various

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* This, and the future articles on the same subject, are intended to form the first portion of the second volume of a history of the Deccan. They relate the incidents of the last few years of Aurungzebe's life *after* the capture of Golkonda; the wars between his sons and grandsons, and the events which led to the founding of the present dynasty that rules at Hyderabad. The period is one which is scarcely more than alluded to in the usual histories, but is full of interesting episodes.—J. D. B. G.

† Taylor's *Manuscripts*, Vol. II. p. 205.

banners and troops, which is sent to the rulers of kingdoms, and these kings go forth to meet it; treat it with respect; take it with those that accompany it to their capital; give presents to these, and paying to them tribute money, send them away. As this is the established rule, and the mandate is now sent to this capital we also must treat it in the same respectful manner.' On hearing this the young king became angry, but dissembling his intentions gave presents to the peons and sent out his own ambassadors, who were instructed to plead sickness on his behalf, but to contrive so that the embassy was brought into the town. This the emissaries appear to have done with success, and by first fixing one place and then another as the spot where the king would meet them, induced the Nawabs to come inside the fort gate. There being still no king the Nawabs said with anger: 'Is your king not come? have you such obstinate pride?' But the others said: 'Our king from the effect of sickness is not able to enter a palankeen, come with us to the gates of the palace.' They accordingly came with the mandate to the gates of Sri-Runga-Kistnappa-Muthu-Virapa-Naicker's palace. As the king still did not appear, they came still closer to the palace entry; when, thinking that a want of respect was implied by waiting there, they took the mandate from the howdah, placed it in a palankeen, and, not without anger, carried it into the hall of the throne. Meanwhile the king had invested himself with all the paraphernalia of his dignity, and in the midst of a great number of his friends was seated on his throne, when the Padshah's Nawabs, and principal men, having taken the *Farmana* in their hands, had brought it into the hall of the throne. Seeing that the king did not pay the smallest token of respect either to the *Farmana* or themselves, they were excessively angry, and pushing aside such persons as stood in their way in the hall of audience, they came near and offered to give the *Farmana* into the hands of the king. The king, being very angry, bid them place it on the floor. But paying no attention to his command, and not putting the slipper down, they again offered to give it into his hands. Thereupon the king called for people with whips: and adding, 'Will the Padshah's people put the *Farmana* down or not? let us see,' further summoned people with rattan canes. As the king was calling aloud, they became terribly afraid and put the *Farmana* down on the floor. The king, seeing this, placed one of his feet within the slipper and addressing the people said: 'How comes it that your Padshah has lost even common sense? When sending

foot furniture for such kind of persons as ourselves, why does he not send two slippers instead of one? Therefore do you speedily go back, and bring here another slipper!' While he thus spoke they answered with all vivacity of anger. On which the king became excessively incensed and had them all beaten and driven away. In consequence, on going outside the fort they assembled all their troops and began to make war. The king on hearing this intelligence, sent outside the fort five thousand cavalry and a great force of infantry which fell upon the Padshah's troops and cut them up piecemeal. As they could not make a successful stand, they ran away, and reported these occurrences to the Padshah. He, thinking on the matter, considered that if he were for the future to send such a message, the disgrace done to it now, by the daring of one, would be imitated by others: he was therefore induced by this high bearing of Raja-Runga-Kistna-Muttu-Virapa-Naicker, thenceforwards to cease the sending of the *Farmana* to the different rulers of countries."

The foregoing account is from a Hindu source, and there is nothing in any of the Mahomedan histories which in any way confirms it. It is probably exaggerated, especially as regards the numbers of the Mahomedan army who were put to flight. It shows, however, that previous to the incident, which occurred before the end of the seventeenth century, the custom of sending the slipper had been for some years in force, since the Trichinopoly Sirdars were acquainted with it, and that the Emperor's over-rule was recognized; for as the first impulse of the Sirdars was to show respect to the slipper, it is clear that for some time previously the Emperor's rule extended and was recognized as far south as Trichinopoly. In the account of the transactions of the latter years of Aurungzebe's reign, translated by Scott from the narrative of a Bondela officer, we are told that in 1693 Hulficcar Khan, the Emperor's great general, of whom we shall hear more later on, marched sixty coss from Gingee into the territories of Trichinopoly and Tanjore and collected considerable contributions from the Zemindars. The slipper embassy was probably subsequent to this expedition and it was only five or six years later, when Aurungzebe's whole attention was taken up with the Mahrattas, that so flagrant an insult could have been committed. Without therefore relying on the exact accuracy of the incident as here given, it proves that soon after the fall of Golkonda the Emperor's armies over-ran the whole of the territories of that State and of

Bijapur and exercised a certain amount of control over the hitherto independent Pandia kingdom of Trichinopoly.

But we must now return to the affairs of the Deccan proper. The Emperor with the main body of his army marched from Hyderabad through Gulburga to Bijapur. A number of the Deccannee nobles and generals came in and submitted and were rewarded with munsabs and military charges. Amongst others was Sheikh Nizam Hyderabadee, who was honoured with the title of Khan Humman and despatched on an expedition against Sumbajee, that' vile dog' who for so long had defied the great Emperor with impunity. Sumbajee had at this period almost entirely withdrawn himself from the field. His armies were despatched in various directions on marauding expeditions, and he himself remained shut up in the fort of Sungumeshwar, where he imagined himself safe amongst his native hills. Khan Humman, however, was able to take him by surprise, and making a rapid march from Kolapur arrived at the gates of the fort and succeeded in entering before they could be closed. Sumbajee himself was intoxicated, and though most of his followers succeeded in making their escape, twenty-four of his principal chiefs defended him with bravery. They were, however, all taken prisoners; and Sumbajee together with his prime minister Kuloosha were brought before the Emperor. It is said that Aurungzebe intended to spare him, so as to induce him to restore the forts which were still in his possession, and with this object in view offered him his life if he would become a Mussulman. "Tell the Emperor," said Sumbajee, "that if he will give me his daughter I will become a Mahomedan," and concluded his reply by an invective on the prophet.* Exasperated by this insult the Emperor ordered him to be executed, which was done in a most barbarous manner. A red hot iron was drawn across his eyes, his tongue was cut out, his skin flayed from his body, and his head cut off. (August 1689.) The news of this barbarous murder of the son of the great Sivajee only served to exasperate the Mahratta nation still more against the Moguls, and the war was therefore carried on on both sides with even more bitterness than before.

Aurungzebe's Prime Minister at this time was Assud Khan, and his son Yeatikad Khan was despatched with a large force to

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* Grant Duff, Vol. I. p. 306.

invade the Concan. He was fortunate enough to obtain possession of Yessoo Bhai, Sumbajee's widow, and her son Sivajee, who had been declared as his father's successor, with his uncle Raja Ram as regent. These two prisoners were taken to the Emperor's camp, where they were kindly received, and the boy, being only six years of age, was adopted by Aurungzebe's daughter. He seems to have been taken notice of by the Emperor, who called him Sahoo or Shao, and by this name he was always afterwards known. Yeatikad Khan was highly honoured for this capture, and the title of Hulficcar Khan was bestowed upon him, under which name he henceforward played a conspicuous part.

Rajah Ram, with a large force, then set off for the strong fort of Gingee, which is situated in the present district of South Arcot, about 50 miles inland from Pondicherry. The remains of the fort show that it must at one time have been of considerable strength. It is built on a small circular range of rocky hills which are isolated in the plain. A wall connects the whole of this range, and strong forts are built at the mouth of each entrance or valley. The ground thus enclosed contains several square miles, and is capable of growing grain required for the garrison. There are also large reservoirs which are fed not only by springs but by water-courses from the hill sides, so that the place was capable of maintaining a lengthened siege without any relief from outside. This fort formed the stronghold of the Mahrattas in the south of India, and the outpost of their possessions in Tanjore. The siege of this important place lasted for very nearly ten years from 1689 until 1698, but there seems to be no doubt that operations were purposely delayed owing to intrigues amongst the generals. The Bondela officer, from whose journal Scott has compiled his history of this portion of Aurungzebe's reign, says that the total ruin of the Mahratta power might have been effected with ease many years before, but the Amras delayed on purpose, and secretly assisted each other to draw out the war to a never-ending length for their own advantage, also dreading that when the Emperor should have finally reduced the Deccan, he would carry his arms to Candahar and Balkh, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who did not wish to encounter the hardships of the north. During the greater part of the siege of Gingee, Hulficcar Khan was in chief command, though for a portion of the time he was superseded by Prince Kaum Buksh, Aurungzebe's favourite son. Soon after the Prince's arrival rumours began to circulate that the Emperor was ill and was not likely to

recover. In the event of the throne becoming vacant, it was necessary for the success of any aspirant that he should be at head-quarters in order to assert his claim. Accordingly the Prince began to make secret overtures to the Mahrattas, and on this coming to the ears of Hulficcar Khan he promptly had the Prince arrested and confined in his own tent. This was an act of masterfulness that Kaum Buksh never forgave, and he never let an opportunity pass of showing the dislike he felt for the general, a dislike which seems to have been cordially and implacably returned. Nevertheless the siege of Gingee had to be raised, for the imperial army was so reduced by sickness and want of provisions that it had to withdraw into quarters. Hulficcar Khan and the Prince were summoned to the Emperor's camp, and although Aurungzebe openly accepted his son's explanation and blamed the general, as a matter of fact he kept the Prince for some time in honourable confinement and employed his lieutenant on active service. Hulficcar Khan was a brave and ambitious general. When he really meant fighting he invariably beat the Mahrattas, but it is said that he secretly intended to establish himself in the Carnatic with the object, when the opportunity came, of making himself independent. If this is true, it was unfortunate for him that he relinquished the idea, for though after Aurungzebe's death Hulficcar Khan enjoyed for a few years the power and the wealth of a king-maker at Delhi, his career ended at last with murder and spoliation, whereas another, following out his original ambition, actually achieved independence and became the founder of a royal line that still rules in the Deccan.

The date of this incident was 1696, and from this time Aurungzebe seems to have adopted a fresh policy in his campaign against the Mahrattas. A new force was despatched into the Carnatic to besiege Gingee, and the Deccan army was divided into two portions. The one, a flying column, was sent under Hulficcar Khan to beat up the Mahrattas wherever they could be found, whilst with the main body the Emperor himself sat down to besiege the hill forts one after the other. Chin Koolich Khan, a name destined to become famous in the Deccan, was left as Governor of Bijapur. In pursuance of this plan the Emperor successively besieged and captured Sattara, Panalla, Vishalgurh, Singurh, Purunda, Rajgurh, Poona, and Waikankara; whilst in the open field Hulficcar Khan constantly defeated the Mahratta armies when he could meet them face to face. But in spite of this marvellous perserverance of an old man bordering on ninety, Aurungzebe was never able to make any lasting impression on the

'mountain rats'. Young Sahoo was still kept in the Emperor's camp. Raja Ram, his uncle, who at first acted as Regent, was dead, and the real leader of the Mahratta nation was Tara Bhai, Sumbajee's widow and stepmother to Sahoo. Tara Bhai was a second Queen Chand, and deserves a lasting place in the ranks of noble queens and heroines. She became the life and soul of the Mahrattas, and sent out army after army with instructions to avoid all conflict in the open field, but to harass the imperial armies in the rear, to cut off their supplies, and to carry raids far beyond the confines of the Deccan. Aurungzebe's persistency and doggedness in his attempts to break up the Mahratta confederacy had the very opposite effect to what he intended, and it is said that the Mahrattas themselves offered up prayers for the preservation of the Emperor's life and therefore for the prolongation of his policy. So successful were the Mahrattas in their raids that on several occasions the huge imperial camp was reduced almost to starvation, and was so hemmed in on all sides that no one dared to leave its limits. The Deccan itself was reduced to the state of a desert. All the Emperor's supplies and money had to be drawn from the north. His governors at Hyderabad and Bijapur could only with difficulty make small collections, and even there they had to dispute with the Mahratta tax collectors, who boldly levied their *chouth*, or one quarter of the revenue, throughout the imperial provinces. But nothing could bend the will of the stern old Emperor. Hunger and reverses did not subdue it, and though on at least two occasions his camp was well nigh carried away by floods, he still pursued his life of self-abnegation, resolved to conquer or to die. Hulficcar Khan was again despatched to carry on the siege of Gingee, and received a hint that it would be well for him to show more energy. This time he was not trammelled by the presence of a royal Prince, and Gingee at last yielded to his arms (1698), and, the strength of the Mahrattas in the South Carnatic being broken, the general was left free to return to the principal seat of the war in the Deccan. Here the same system of operations was carried on. Aurungzebe laid siege to one fort after another, and Hulficcar Khan hurried from province to province in pursuit of the elusive Mahrattas. In one campaign alone he is said to have marched 2,000 coss, or about 4,000 miles, a distance which is surely somewhat exaggerated. It is scarcely within the province of this work to follow in detail all Aurungzebe's movements. It is true that the scene of them lay in the Deccan, but they have been so ex-

haustively discussed by Grant Duff that it would be useless to go over the same ground. Each year was a repetition of the previous one. Nothing decisive was ever gained by the Emperor. The forts he took one year were frequently retaken in the following one, when he had moved on to begin again the same wearisome story. During the whole of this time the Mahrattas gradually increased in strength and daring. Their bands harried the country from Mysore up to Guzerat, and a strong central system of Government was organized at Poona. Fifty years before, Aurungzebe had found Sivajee at the head of a comparatively small body of robbers. When he died Sivajee's grandson ruled over a well organized Government and a nation imbued with the spirit of plunder.

The time had at last come for the great Emperor to leave this life of unrest and struggles. Nearly ninety years of age, he had ruled for almost fifty. All those who had crossed his path, whether father, brothers, sons, or nephews, had come to a violent end, in battle, or else by the more secret means of the dagger or the poison bowl. For the last twenty years of his life he had lived in a camp and endured hardships far greater than some of his luxurious followers. Right or wrong he had unswervingly carried out the line of policy he had laid down for himself, and now, as he felt his end approaching, he saw his plans thwarted, his enemies flourishing, his sons at discord with one another, and the whole fabric of Empire crumbling away as it were to pieces. Towards the end of 1706 he marched into Ahmednagar, the capital of the old Nizam Shahi kings, and on the day he marched in, he himself exclaimed that his last campaign was finished. Remembering his own fight for the throne, he sent his three sons away to their different governments, separated as far as possible from one another. The eldest, subsquently known as Bahadur Shah, was in Cabul; Azim Shah was sent to Malwa, and Kaum Buksh, his youngest and favourite, to Bijapur. To the eldest son the Emperor seems to have sent no message, and to have made no sign, and he probably thought that he was too far removed to have a chance of succeeding. But shortly before he died he wrote a letter to Azim Shah and another to Kaum Buksh, both of which are so pathetic that they must be given *in extenso*.*

* Eradat Khan, translated by Scott. These letters are not to my knowledge reproduced in any of the histories. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole gives an extract from one in his monograph, *Aurangzib*.

To Shah Azim Shah.

"Health to thee! My heart is near thee! Old age has arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power has left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly. I had a patron in my own dwelling (conscience) but his glorious light was unseen by my dimmed sight. Life is not lasting; there is no vestige of departed breath, and all hopes from futurity are lost. The fever has left me, but nothing remains of me but skin and bone. My son Kaum Buksh, though gone towards Bijapur, is still near; thou my son art yet nearer. The worthy of esteem Shah Alum (Bahadur Shah) is far distant and my grandson (Azim Ushan) by the orders of God is arrived near Hindustan. The camp followers, helpless and alarmed, are like myself full of affliction, restless as quicksilver. Separated from their lord, they know not if they have a master or not.

I brought nothing into this world, and except the infirmities of man carry nothing out. I have a dread for my salvation, and with what torments I may be punished. Though I have a strong reliance on the mercies and bounties of God, yet regarding my actions fear will not quit me; but when I am gone, reflection will not remain. Come then what may I have launched my vessel to the waves. Though Providence will protect the camp, yet regarding appearances, the endeavours of my sons are indispensably incumbent. Give my last prayers to my grandson (Bedar Bukht son of Azim Shah) whom I cannot see but the desire affects me. The Begum (his favourite daughter) appears afflicted but God is the only judge of hearts. The foolish thoughts of women produce nothing but disappointment. Farewell! farewell! farewell!"

To the Prince Kaum Buksh.

"My Son, nearest to my heart. Though in the height of my power, and by God's permission, I gave you advice and took with you the greatest pains, yet, as it was not the divine will, you did not attend with the ears of compliance. Now I depart a stranger, and lament my own insignificance, what does it profit me? I carry with me the fruits of my sins and imperfections. Surprising Providence! I came here alone, and alone I depart. The leader of the caravan has deserted me. The fever which troubled me for

twelve days has left me. Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity. My fears for the camp and followers are great, but alas! I know not myself. My back is bent with weakness and my feet have lost the powers of motion. The breath which rose is gone, and left not even hope behind it. I have committed numerous crimes and know not with what punishments I may be seized. Though the Protector of mankind will guard the camp yet care is incumbent also on the faithful, and my sons. When I was alive no care was taken and now the consequence may be guessed. The guardianship of a people is the trust by God committed to my sons. Azim Shah is near. Be cautious that none of the faithful are slain or their miseries will fall upon my head. I resign you, your mother and son to God, as I myself am going. The agonies of death come upon me fast. Bahadur Shah is still where he was, and his son has arrived near Hindustan. Bedar Bukht is in Guzerat. Hyut al Nissa (his daughter the Begum), who has beheld no afflictions of time till now, is full of sorrows. Regard the Begum as without concern. Odeypooree*, your mother, was a partner in my illness and wishes to accompany me in death; but every thing has its appointed time.

The domestics and courtiers, however deceitful, yet must not be ill treated. It is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art. Extend your feet no lower than your skirt. The complaints of the unpaid troops are as before. Daru Shakoh, though of much judgment and good understanding, settled large pensions on his people, but paid them ill, and they were ever discontented. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you. Take it not amiss, nor remember what offences I have done to yourself, that account may not be demanded of me hereafter. No one has seen the departure of his own soul: but I see that mine is departing."

Reading between the lines of these letters there seems little doubt that Aurungzebe's sympathies were in favour of Kaum Buksh. Both this Prince and Azim Shah, though they had purposely been sent off to their respective governments of Bijapur and Malwa, were cognizant that their father's death was imminent, and remained therefore as near as possible. Bahadur Shah was supposed to be

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* It is questioned whether this is not a mistake for Jodhporee, as a princess of Jodhpore was sent to Aurungzebe's zenana. The house of Odeypore claims to have never contributed a Princess to the Mahomedan Emperors.

too far away to be dangerous, but as the sequel showed, he also had laid his plans with the greatest care and caution. Azim Shah's general was the redoubted Hulficcar Khan, between whom and Kaum Buksh there was an undying hatred dating back from the incident which occurred at the siege of Gingee, already alluded to.

Eradat Khan, who had for a long time been in attendance on the Emperor, gives a touching sketch of his last interview with his old master, which must have taken place only shortly before the latter's death. Eradat Khan had been appointed to an important command at Aurungabad, and "on the evening before my departure, the Emperor, opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him and said: 'Absence now takes place between us and our meeting again is uncertain. Forgive then whatever willingly or unwillingly I may have done against thee, and pronounce the words, *I forgive*! three times with sincerity of heart. As thou hast served me long, I also forgive thee whatever knowingly or otherwise, thou mayest have done against me.' Upon hearing these words my sobs became like a knot in my throat, so that I had not power to speak. At last after his majesty had repeatedly pressed me I made shift to pronounce the words, *I forgive!* three times, interrupted by heavy sobs. He shed many tears, repeated the words, and after blessing me, ordered me to retire."* There is something very pathetic in the picture of this old man dying alone in the midst of a large camp, haunted by the memories of past crimes, and by the forms of those nearest to him in blood who had crossed his path and had been done to death, and with a vague dread of a retribution to come. "I have committed numerous crimes and know not with what punishment I may be seized." Such is his own confession, and the feeling must have been rendered acute by the consciousness that his "valuable time had been passed vainly." His long life had in fact been a failure, and the work which during the last twenty years of his life he had set himself to do with stubborness of purpose and inflexibility of will, was not only undone but he was leaving his empire in a far worse position than it had been when he took it by force from his father's grasp. "Every plan that he formed came to little good; every enterprize failed," is the verdict of the Mahomedan historian who praises him for his "devotion, austerity and justice; and for his incomparable courage, long-suffering and judgement." But in spite of the admiration which is due to the many

* Scott's Translation.

great qualities in Aurungzebe's character it seems difficult if not impossible to join with those who regard him as a martyr, as a man who "had pitted his conscience against the world, and the world triumphed over it," or as one who "lived, and died in leading a forlorn hope, and if ever the cross of heroic devotion to a lost cause belonged to mortal man it was his." * The real truth is that the cause he was devoted to was his own advancement, and in order to achieve that he did not scruple to wade through blood towards the throne he longed for. Fratricide had for him no terrors, and the obligation of filial respect or paternal love no weight. To us he seems more like a narrow-minded bigot with such a load of guilt on his conscience that he mistrusted all mankind. No doubt his conscience reproached him for the crimes of his youth, but can it be said that this deterred him from the commission of others in his old age? The relentlessness with which, for no reason, he brought about the ruin of the Deccan kings, and the barbarous manner in which he treated the Mahratta Sumbajee, show that the old Adam was still alive in him, and that what he had done in 1656 he would not have hesitated to do forty years later had the same obstacles been in his path.

Aurungzebe's death occurred on the 21st of February, 1707, and three days afterwards Bahadur Shah, who was then 54 years of age, arrived at Ahmednagar, took possession of the Imperial camp, and a week later formally ascended the throne. The remains of the deceased Emperor were despatched to Aurungabad, where they were buried in a tomb which he had prepared during his life-time. Azim Shah at once commenced a leisurely march for Agra, having been joined by several of the important chiefs, such as Chin Koolich Khan, with his father Feroze Jung, and Mahomed Ameen Khan, who for this purpose deserted the service of Kaum Buksh. This latter Prince evidently felt himself too weak to make an attempt for the throne. He was only forty years of age and could bide his time. Accordingly he retired to his seat of Government at Bijapur, and leaving his two elder brothers to fight it out, occupied himself with collecting an army in the Deccan with which he resolved to encounter the conqueror. The route chosen by Azim Shah was, though shorter as the crow flies, a very hilly and difficult one, and the consequence was that before he reached Agra a number of his men were lost by disease and by want. Bedar Bukht, Azim Shah's

* Stanley Lane Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 205.

son, who was in Guzerat, was ordered to march in order to join his father's army near Agra. This order was at once obeyed and the Prince set off with only three thousand men, without waiting to raise a larger army, although at the time there was a considerable amount of money in the treasury. The fact is that Bedar Bukht had been greatly attached to his grandfather, Aurungzebe, and had therefore excited his father's jealousy, and he was afraid that, if he met him with anything like a considerable force, Azim Shah might suspect him of entertaining designs against the throne. Eradat Khan, who was in this Prince's confidence, tells us much of the strained relations between father and son, and there seems to be very little doubt that the Prince did really harbour the thought of supplanting his father.

In the meantime Bahadur Shah, although far off in Cabul, and already an old man of 64, had not been idle. When despatched to this distant government, he had accepted what was really a banishment without a word of complaint. To his own sons, who were with him, and to his friends he said that he had given up all idea of ever succeeding to the throne. When news of Aurungzebe's sickness reached him, he said that in the event of his father's death he would not dispute the throne with Azim Shah, but would retire into Persia and claim hospitality from the Shah. So persistent was he in these statements that not only were they believed by his own family but they also served to dispel all suspicions at headquarters, and he was looked upon accordingly as a negligible quantity, too far removed by age and by distance from any chance of rivalry. Bahadur Shah's dewan or principal minister was one Mounaim Khan, who was thoroughly faithful and attached to his master. This officer had for some time been employed in thoroughly organizing and reforming the Prince's army and household. He had therefore a claim to his confidence, and accordingly he one day questioned him regarding his future plans. Subsequently he related what took place to Eradat Khan, who has given us his statement in his own words :

"When I perceived that my attachment, sincerity, and abilities had properly impressed Shah Alam's mind, and that he was convinced that I was a prudent, faithful, and secret servant, being alone with him one day, conversing on the affairs of the Empire, I took the liberty of thus addressing him : 'It is reported that your Highness intends flying to Persia, with so much confidence that even the Princes your sons assure me by sacred oaths of its truth.' He

replied: 'In this rumour their lies concealed a great design, to forward which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First, because my father, on a mere suspicion of my disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement, and should he even now think I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. Secondly, my brother Mahomed Azim Shah, who is my powerful enemy, and valiant even to the extreme of rashness, would exert all his force against me. From this report my father is easy and my brother lulled into self-security; but by the *Almighty God, who gave me life* (laying his hand on the Koran by him) and on this holy book, I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet Azim Shah in single combat, wherever he may be! This secret which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it.' " *

The confidence thus shown was not misplaced. Monuaim Khan at once went to Lahore which formed the key of the road to Delhi, and there quickly made the necessary preparations, so that everything should be ready when the time came to strike the decisive blow. Bodies of troops were collected and stationed in garrisons, so that they could be picked up completely equipped *en route.* A regular stage of communication was opened out towards the Deccan on one side and through the Khyber pass to Cabul on the other, so that any news could be transmitted with the utmost despatch. Tavernier tells us that messages of importance were generally conveyed by foot-runners instead of by horsemen, and that runners were able to beat horsemen over a long distance. "The reason is," says this entertaining traveller (Ball's edition, vol. i. 291) "that at every two leagues there are small huts, where two or three men employed for running, live, and immediately when the carrier of a letter has arrived at one of these huts he throws it to the others at the entrance, and one of them takes it up and at once sets off to run. It is considered unlucky to give a letter into the hand of a messenger; it is therefore thrown at his feet and he must lift it up. It is still to be remarked that throughout India, the greater part of the roads are like avenues of trees, and those which have not trees planted, have at every 500 paces small pieces of stone which the inhabitants of the nearest villages are bound to whiten from time to time, so that the letter carriers can distinguish the roads on dark

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* Eradat Khan, *Memoirs of the Mogul Empire.* Scott, Vol. II.

and rainy nights." The distance which the messengers would have to travel between Ahmednagar, where Aurungzebe died, and Cabul, could not have been less than 2,000 miles, and the road by which troops could march from Cabul to Agra is not less than 1,200 miles, but yet so great was the despatch used by Bahadur Shah that although the old Emperor only died on the 28th Hilkad, in little more than 2½ months from that time the Prince had forestalled his brother; had taken possession of Agra, and was able to deliver a decisive battle on the 80th day after Aurungzebe's decease. Immediately Bahadur Shah received the news of his father's death he started off post haste for Lahore, where he found a body of troops ready and a strong force of artillery prepared and kept in readiness by the faithful Monuaim Khan. Without a day's delay the Prince hurried on, picking up fresh levies on his way, and in this manner was able to reach Agra several days before his brother, who had leisurely marched up from the Deccan never dreaming of finding a rival to dispute his throne. Eradat Khan, who was with Azim Shah's army, attached to the person of his son Bedar Bukht, says that "such vanity took possession of the mind of Azim Shah that he was convinced his brother, though supported by the myriads of Toor and Sullum, durst not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth. Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence, so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival." * From this dream of security, however, there was a rude awakening; for, when he arrived at Muttra, about 20 miles from Agra, he was met by a message from Bahadur Shah offering to divide the kingdom with him. So magnaminous was the elder brother that he even left to the younger the choice of the division. The offer was, however, haughtily refused, and on the following day (18 Rubbee ul Awal A. H. 1119=23rd May 1707) the two armies met for the decisive struggle. Prince Bedar Bukht commanded the advance guard, Hulficcar Khan the left wing, and Azim Shah the main body of the army. Bahadur Shah had with him a considerable army, and, assisted by his four sons, advanced to the attack in a compact form. Azim Shah's order seems to have been very loose, and he foolishly left the main body of his army and advanced to the support of his son Bedar Bukht, who was

* Scott's Translation.

engaged with the vanguard. Hulficcar Khan on the left wing was also attacked, and, though he was able to hold his own, his force was greatly weakened by the defection of his Rajpoot allies, who fled at the fall of their chiefs, Ram Singh and Dulput Row, who were killed by the same cannon ball. The day was actually decided by the defeat of the vanguard of Azim Shah's army, and the main body does not seem to have been engaged. Azim Shah and Bedar Bukht both fell fighting bravely, and when this occurred the rest of the army took to flight. Hulficcar Khan, seeing that the day was lost, escaped to Gwalior and took refuge with his father Assud Khan. In this manner, after a comparatively easy victory, Bahadur Shah ascended the throne.

Hulficcar Khan's conduct in the battle is open to some doubt, and there were certainly many who suspected him of having wilfully refrained from assisting Azim Shah. The result seems to justifiy these suspicions, because although Monuaim Khan was with justice made Vizier, Hulficcar Khan was created Ameer ul Amra, with the post of chief paymaster and the government of the Deccan. His father, Assud Khan, received the honorary post of Vakeel Muttaluk, which though of considerable dignity, carried with it no real power.

"Shah Alam Bahadur Shah was generous and merciful, of a great soul tempered with affability and discerning of merit. He had seen the strict exercise of power during the reigns of his grandfather and father and been used to authority himself for the last fifty years. Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours, equal, if not superior, to their merits, so that the public forgot the excellences and great qualities of Aurungzebe, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor." (Eradat Khan.) His court was a very splendid one and his throne was surrounded by seventeen princes of the blood, for he permitted even the sons of those princes who had fallen in battle against him to appear fully armed in his presence.

The only danger remaining to the Emperor was in the Deccan. There, Kaum Buksh had the Khutba read in his name, in Bijapur and Hyderabad coins had been struck, and he had assumed all the signs of royalty. This Prince was a man of considerable intelligence but of a very violent and hasty temper. Although the favourite son of Aurungzebe, it is said by Eradat Khan that he seldom remained for more than a month in his father's society without getting into some trouble or disgrace. He was rash and impulsive, very over-

bearing in manner, and at the same time possessed of an inordinate self-conceit. Aurungzebe probably with a view of helping him, had attached some of the most powerful of the nobles to his service. One of the principal of these was Ghazee ud Din Feroze Jung, a Turanian Mogul whose power and influence in the Deccan was very great. As already mentioned, the son of this nobleman was Chin Koolich Khan, the future founder of a new dynasty. Forgetful of the assistance which these two powerful chieftains could have rendered to him, Kaum Buksh not only made no attempts to conciliate, but estranged and disgusted them by his arbitrary and domineering conduct. Feroze Jung, who had for some time been blind, withdrew from the Deccan entirely, and having accepted a small Government in Guzerat relinquished for good all prominent share in public affairs. Koolich Khan remained in the Deccan but kept aloof together with his retainers from all connection with the headstrong young Prince who was evidently bent upon consummating his own destruction. This example was followed by several other noblemen, until at last the Prince was left unsupported except by his own personal retainers. Kaum Buksh made Hyderabad his headquarters, and nothing daunted at the defection of his followers refused all overtures of the Emperor and declared that he would fight out the struggle for the throne until the bitter end.

In the meantime Bahadur Shah, after having made the arrangements necessary for the settlement of his new Empire, collected an immense army, with which he started to subdue his rebellious brother. It is said that the expedition contained a hundred thousand more men than did any army of Aurungzebe's, but this seems to be scarcely likely. Before entering the Deccan with this strong force Bahadur Shah made another and last attempt at conciliation, and wrote to Kaum Buksh a letter in which he said: "Our ever honoured father resigned to you Bijapur; but we give you in addition, Hyderabad. These two extensive countries, long famous for great kings, producing a revenue more than half of Hindustan, we leave to you, without interference or reluctance, and shall esteem you dearer than our own children. Think not then of contention nor consent to shed the blood of the faithful nor disturb the repose of our Government. If you give the ear of acceptance to this advice, we will further confer upon you the Nizamat of Deccan if agreeable to you; and after visiting the sacred tomb of our father

we will return to Hindustan."* Kaum Buksh paid no attention to this overture, which was made with all sincerity, but continued to make his preparations. But as the Emperor drew nearer the defections of his noblemen continued to increase. Many were gained over by messages from the Vizier Monnaim Khan promising them pardon and reward; and others, seeing the hopelessness of the cause, left him to return to their homes. When Bahadur Shah had arrived within 25 miles of Hyderabad, Kaum Buksh's army consisted of only 10,000 of the worst Deccan horse and a small force of artillery. With this insignificant army the infatuated Prince even yet expected to gain a victory, and giving up the protection of the city walls marched forth to meet the Imperial army. Bahadúr Shah, still willing to spare his brother, forbade his troops to attack, but the Prince, mistaking this forbearance for fear, himself led the attack. Hulficcar Khan, his old enemy, then obtained permission to advance with a small force, and if possible to capture the Prince alive. As soon as the Prince's followers saw that an attack was really intended they fled in all directions, leaving their leader almost alone. "Notwithstanding this, he continued as long as he had strength to use his bow and arrows from his elephant, till at length he sank down on his seat through loss of blood from several wounds. He was then taken prisoner by Daoud Khan, and carried to the Prince Jehan Shah, who with his brothers (sons of the Emperor) had stood at some distance during this extraordinary skirmish." † He was carried to the Imperial tents and there treated by his brother with every kindness, but it was all of no avail and he died the same evening from the effects of his wounds. Kaum Buksh in the violence of his ambition threw away the chance of an empire even greater than that of his brother. The Deccan, united under one head, who was also a member of the Imperial family, and acknowledged by and allied to the Emperor himself, would before long have developed into a strong and homogeneous kingdom extending from sea to sea, and from the Vindhyas to Cape Comorin. Such a kingdom was the only possible means of subduing the Mahrattas, and by it the disjointed Hindu kingdoms of the south would have been conquered without difficulty. It is probable that the course of history would have been far different

* The word Hindustan is always understood to refer to the Ganges valley exclusively, and is not used as we use it to apply to the whole Peninsula

† Eradat Khan, Scott's Translation.

if, when some forty years later the English began to take an active interest in the political affairs of South India, they had come into contact with a strongly established Mahomedan king of the Deccan.

Bahadur Shah resolved to return at once to his capital, and was perhaps deterred from remaining any longer in the Deccan by the memory of his father's fate, who, thinking after the capture of Sumbajee that only two or three matters remained to be settled, stopped on and then got entangled in so many operations that he was never able to leave the country. Before leaving, however, the Emperor took one important step with the object of conciliating the Mahrattas. This was the release of Sahoo, Sumbajee's son who had for the last twenty years been following the Emperor's camp.* This step was taken in consequence of the advice of Hulficcar Khan, who as before stated had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. Sahoo's mother, brother, and family were, however, kept as hostages of his good conduct. This being done, the Emperor leaving Sahoo to establish himself, marched back to Agra, where for the present we will leave him in order to follow the affairs of the Deccan.

During Sahoo's long confinement, his uncle Rajah Ram and afterwards his father's second wife Tara Bhai had conducted the Mahratta affairs. Tara Bhai governed in the name of her son, who, however, was an idiot, and the real power remained in her hands. This power she did not feel disposed to at once relinquish, and, pretending that Sahoo was nothing but an impostor, called upon her ministers to help her in opposing him and to swear fidelity to her son. Daoud Khan, who had been left by Hulficcar Khan as Deputy Governor of the Deccan, had been instructed to give Sahoo every assistance in his power. Accordingly the latter was soon able to raise an army of 15,000 well equipped men, with which he marched from the Godavery towards Poona. Here he found the people by no means unanimous in their support of Tara Bhai, and many came forward and recognized him as the legitimate descendant of the great Sivajee. Having obtained possession of Satara, Sahoo caused himself to be formally seated on the throne. Tara Bhai and Sahoo both sent representatives to the Imperial Court, asking for the Emperor's

* It is not quite certain whether this step had not already been resolved upon or even taken by Azim Shah before he marched to encounter Bahadur at Agra. Looking at the dates, however, I am inclined to think the text is correct.

countenance and support. Sahoo was backed up by Hulficcar Khan, but Tara Bhai, on the other hand, found an advocate in Monnaim Khan, the Vizier, and the result was that though letters were made out in the latter's name as regent for her son Sivajee, they were not delivered but kept in abeyance until the dispute between the two rivals should be fought out.

The result of this struggle belongs more to the history of the Mahrattas, and as this has been already exhaustively treated, it is not our intention to go over the same ground here. Suffice it to say that Sahoo remained at Satara whilst the rival court was held at Kolapur. The former received the moral and active support of the Mahomedan governor of the Deccan, and the latter was followed by many of the principal Mahratta chiefs. The practical result of this rivalry was the growth of the Brahmin influence in Poona, which finally resulted in the representatives of royalty being reduced to the position of puppets, whilst the Brahmin Peishwas, arrogating to themselves all the actual power and influence, ruled the Mahratta people and directed the course of its armies.

Before passing on to the next period it will be as well to take a glance at the state of the Deccan after twenty years of warfare. The whole extent of country lying between Hyderabad, Bijapur, and Ahmednagar seems to have been reduced to the condition of a desert, not only by the ravages of contending armies but also by the progress of the vast imperial camp, numbering over a million of soldiers and followers, which like a swarm of locusts ate up the country as it moved slowly from place to place. The Mahomedan governors found the greatest difficulty in collecting the revenue, and were compelled to treat the jaghirdars and zemindars with the utmost severity, and they in their turn exacted from the cultivator whatever they could. Villages were depopulated and fields left uncultivated, and whenever the Mahomedan army had removed to some distance there appeared in its track a marauding body of Mahratta horse, which if not satisfied by the blackmail of *chouth*, harried what little the Mahomedans had left. A more deplorable state of things cannot be imagined. Aurungzebe was compelled to draw not only his treasure but even his supplies from the north, and these caravans were constantly being plundered by the Mahratta cavalry. More than seventy years before Mir Jumla, the able Minister who forsook the Golkonda king for Shah Jehan's service, had, it is said, endeavoured to persuade the latter Emperor to leave the north of India and fix his capital in the Deccan which was the site where

gold and diamonds could be found, and where a more splendid kingdom could be maintained than in the north. It was on this occasion that Mir Jumla gave to the Emperor the Kohinoor as a specimen of the wonderful diamonds which the country produced. Had Mir Jumla been able to visit the Deccan in the beginning of the 18th century he would have marvelled at the change that had taken place. On all sides were villages ruined, fields neglected, and irrigation works destroyed. The people from harmless peasants had turned into organized gangs of robbers, who endeavoured to recover their own losses by despoiling others. Tavernier, Thevenot, and the other European travellers of the 17th century speak of Hyderabad as the emporium of Indian trade, and of Bijapur as one of the richest and most populous cities in the world. At the time we are writing of all trade had ceased, for no caravan was safe, and a merchant travelling with goods or money would not have gone twenty miles without being robbed and probably murdered.

Bahadur Shah's reign was only a short one, for he died in 1712 while on an expedition against the Sikhs. At the time of his death his four sons were with him in his câmp, and again there occurred the fratricidal struggle for the throne which had taken place at the close of the two former reigns. The actual scene was in the Punjaub, but as the results materially affected the Deccan, we propose to describe it with some detail, especially as the circumstances are passed over by the usual histories with a few words, although they afford a graphic sketch of how the passion for empire destroyed all natural ties and feelings in the members of the royal family, and of how the empire was tottering on the verge of ruin by being split up into contending parties and factions.

J. D. B. Gribble.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Aspects of Modern Study. University Extension Addresses, by Lord Playfair, Canon Browne, Mr. Goschen, Mr. John Morley, Sir James Paget, Professor Max Müller, the Duke of Argyll, the Bishop of Durham, and Professor Jebb. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1894.

There are two ways in which efforts have been made in England to meet the growing demand of the people to share in the benefits which until not very long ago were only to be obtained by the few who could

afford to attend one or other of the universities. Colleges have been founded in many important centres, and several new universities have been established. In this way Manchester, for example, can provide what formerly could be obtained only at Oxford or Cambridge. But such provision as this has been found insufficient for modern needs, and now for more than twenty years university extension lectures have been a feature of higher education in England. Those who have taken a chief part in the development of this scheme of education have been moved to action by the belief that the multiplication of colleges and universities which has taken place has left unsatisfied a deep and widely-spread desire for education of the university standard. There are many men and women who cannot attend college or university, but who are prepared to give some time to the pursuit of education and whose progress in self-culture is likely to be all the more satisfactory for a little stimulus and guidance. To afford to such the help they need is one of the chief objects of the scheme of university extension lectures. The universities have wisely resolved to maintain a living contact with the people, sending forth messengers of light to those who cannot come to them.

In London a society for the extension of university teaching was established in 1876; and the addresses contained in the present volume were delivered to the students of this society at the annual meetings held in the Mansion House. The first two addresses deal with the university extension movement itself. Lord Playfair regards the evolution of university extension as a part of popular education. He dwells in particular on the importance of permeating the mass of the people with the desire for knowledge. The great humanising movements of the world, he says, have sprung from the people, and it is chiefly among them that great discoverers in science and great inventors in industry arise. Canon Browne discusses 'The Future of University Extension in London'. He looks forward to the federation of all university extension work in London under some comprehensive educational system; and regards it as essential to the interests of advanced students that they should have access to some central institution. Speaking of what he regards as a legitimate aspiration of university extension students—that in some way or other a crown should be set on their work—Canon Browne deprecates the institution of a special degree for them; but thinks it should be possible for them, on fulfilling some stringent conditions as to continuity and sequence and blending of study, to obtain some such title as Associate of a University. Then if the Associate would qualify in the preliminary subjects common to all candidates for a degree, Canon Browne would make it possible for him to proceed to the degree, which he would thus earn by university work. He regards it as probable, however, that university extension may lead to an exten-

sion of the university idea, so that there may come about a university curriculum which shall differ largely in the character of its common requirements from those which now prevail.

The other lectures in the volume are those which give the principal title to the book. They all, as might be expected from the names of the lecturers, contain much sound advice concerning study in general or the study of particular subjects. Mr. Goschen's address on 'Hearing, Reading, and Thinking' is to some extent a commendation of the system of university extension lectures, for part of his purpose is to show that those who attend these lectures derive benefits from hearing which they could not derive from reading. In regard to reading he sought to impress upon his hearers that if they would read well, they would not be able to read very much. He also told them that the habit of haste, which is so fatal to good reading, is also fatal to thinking—the most important of the three intellectual processes to which the title of the address refers. He therefore bespoke for reading and for thinking greater deliberation, more careful choice of material, more consecutiveness and continuity, and, above all, no haste, or hurrying through anything, whether lecture, book, or problem.

Another address containing much valuable advice of a general nature is that on the subject of scientific study, by Sir James Paget. Sir James called attention to four functions which scientific study can discharge in connection with the education of the mind, but reminded his hearers that these do not exhaust its capabilities. In the first place it is an education in the power of observing—in the power not only of seeing things, but of seeing and observing them in their various relations to things around them. In the second place it teaches accuracy—accuracy not only in observing but in reading, remembering, and arranging facts. Thirdly, it teaches in a very forcible manner the difficulty of ascertaining truth. And lastly, it teaches caution in proceeding from the knowledge of what is proved to the thinking of what is probable.

We can only mention the subjects of the other addresses, but we cordially commend them as well as those already named, to the attention of our readers. Mr. John Morley deals with 'The Study of Literature', Professor Max Müller with 'Some Lessons of Antiquity', the Bishop of Durham with 'Ideals', Professor Jebb with 'The Influence of the Greek Mind on Modern Life', and the Duke of Argyll with 'The Application of the Historical Method to Economic Science'.

The Great Indian Epics. The Stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. By John Campbell Oman. London and New York: George Bell and Sons, 1894.

THIS is a book that ought to find many readers, both in England and in India. The author is not a Sanskrit scholar, for he confesses that

the original Sanskrit poems are sealed books to him, but he has studied the translations of these voluminous works which have been given to the world by European and Indian scholars. And, what is very essential to anyone who undertakes to enlighten others on Indian subjects, he possesses a first hand knowledge of the country and its people. So far as concerns the object which he has in view, this stands him in better stead than much Sanskrit learning. It seems to be impossible for even the most profound scholars, if they have not some actual experience of India, to interpret aright the literary creations of her people. And in many cases a certain bias, springing probably from enthusiasm, makes it difficult for the scholar to see at once the defects and the merits of any work which he makes a subject of earnest study. Admiration for beauty of form tends to blunt the critical faculty in its application to quality of matter. Mr. Oman shows that he has a genuine interest in India and everything pertaining to it, and near the end of the present volume expresses his profound appreciation of the capabilities of a people who have produced such works as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. But his appreciation exists alongside of and in spite of a consciousness of many important defects and not because he can see only one side. He knows a spade to be a spade and does not wish to call it by any other name.

The greater part of the book is taken up with the stories of the great epics, epitomised from the English translations available, and interspersed with explanatory and critical remarks by the author himself. Mr. Oman cannot help noticing, for example, the characteristic way in which the heroes of the great war are subjected to sudden and complete reverses of fortune, and their tame, almost abject, acquiescence in the circumstances of the hour. Nor can he keep silence as to the difficulty he has in comprehending why exile to the forest should always entail the hermit garb and utter destitution. Some of his remarks are added as notes, many of which are intended to show the continuity between the India of to-day and the India of the great epics. We find, for instance, in connection with the encounter between Arjuna and Siva on the Himalayas, a note to the effect that Arjuna's worship of the image which he made of Siva is an interesting and noteworthy instance of idolatry attributed to one of the ancient Aryan heroes by the Brahman authors of the *Mahabharata*. Many of Mr. Oman's remarks and notes are obviously intended to call attention to the dangers of the custom, so much in vogue at the present time, of seeking to justify or condemn practices which now prevail, by reference to those of ancient days. And lest Hindus should suspect him of giving a false representation of these times, he has on all occasions where religious opinions or theological doctrines are concerned, given the preference to the translations of native scholars. He is of opinion that the English versions of the

Ramayana and the *Mahabharata* now being given to the world by Indian scholars have a unique value which later translations are not likely to possess. By and by we shall have more learned translations, in which, however, European ideas will do duty for Indian ones, and in which the old poems will be interpreted up to our own standard of science and philosophy.

In regard to the standpoint from which the contents of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* ought to be regarded Mr. Oman differs both from those who would treat them as history and from those who look upon them as allegorical. The details naively introduced are often, he admits, such as to leave an irresistible impression that there is a substratum of substantial truth serving as a foundation for the fantastic and airy structures reared by the poets. But, he says, the too fertile imagination of the Indian poets, their supreme contempt for details, and utter disregard of topographical accuracy, leave little hope of our ever getting any satisfactory history out of the great epics. Indeed he protests against these epics being treated as history, as they must then be judged by the canons of historical composition and thereby shorn of their highest merits. They are, he says, poems not history, the romantic legends and living aspirations of a people, not the sober annals of its social and political life. In so far, however, as the true function of history is to reveal to us living pictures of bygone times, to disclose to us the social life of earlier days, and to make us acquainted with the thoughts, ideals, and aspirations of former generations, Mr. Oman is prepared to regard them as a solid contribution to historical literature.

In speaking of the attractions which the great epics possess for the people of India at the present day and of the intellectual attitude of modern India towards the wild legends of ancient days, Mr. Oman draws attention to the contrast which India presents in this matter to the countries of Europe. Among the nations of the West the great wall of Judaic Christianity has been reared between the past and the present, so that of the ancient indigenous religious beliefs there remains only a substratum of old superstitions, and this among the more backward of the people. In India no barrier of similar proportions has ever been raised between the past and the present; and hence it may be asserted of the vast majority of the people that their vision extends reverentially backward, through an uninterrupted vista, to the gods and heroes of the remote ancestors.

In conclusion we may say that Mr. Oman has told the stories of the Great Indian Epics in an interesting way. Here and there the expression is not exactly so good as it might be, but the style is on the whole easy and attractive. The spelling of proper names is not quite consistent, but this may be to some extent due to imperfect proof-reading, of which there are a good many evidences throughout the volume. There are seven illustrations, three of them from photographs.

Madras Government Museum Bulletin. No. 1. Pearl and Chank Fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar. By Edgar Thurston, C. M. Z. S., etc., Superintendent, Madras Government Museum. Price 12 Annas.

This bulletin forms the first of a series about to be issued by the energetic Superintendent of the Madras Museum, giving a popular account of his various collecting tours through the Presidency. In a former publication the subject matter of the present bulletin was incorporated with Notes on the Marine Fauna of the Gulf of Manaar, and fresh editions of the two are now being issued separately.

A highly interesting account is given of the pearl fisheries on both the Indian and Ceylon sides of the Gulf of Manaar, and of the Tuticorin Chank Fishery, interspersed with notes on the natural history of the pearl oyster, and the more interesting creatures met with on the pearl banks. The structure of the pearl oyster is dealt with in three well-executed plates, and a fourth plate printed in colours, and representing a chank shell of the natural size, reflects great credit on the Calcutta School of Art, where all the illustrations have been prepared. There is also a reproduction in phototype of the shark (*Rhinodon typicus*) cast ashore on the Madras beach in 1889, and now preserved in the Madras Museum. This shark is noteworthy both on account of its rarity, and because the shark is the largest of existing fishes, some specimens attaining a length of 50 feet or more. We can strongly recommend this bulletin to those interested in the natural history of the Madras Presidency.

This Troublesome World. Macmillan's Colonial Library.

The authors of the *Medicine Lady* have produced a highly sensational story. It opens with a ball at Clint to celebrate the close of the hunting season, at which ball the reader is introduced to the heiress of Clint, her cousin Brian Gilmour, her betrothed Sir George Forsyde, and Dr. Langton the bitter enemy of the latter. By a strange whim of fate the lives of these four are to be closely bound up together in the future. Sir George Forsyde is one of those doubtful characters, a reformed rake, and his real disposition being some time after the ball revealed to Brian, a quarrel ensues between the two men. The next morning Sir George is found dead. Brian is arrested but acquitted. His cousin, however, cannot believe in his innocence, and a cloud comes over his hitherto happy life. Eventually he marries Dr. Langton's daughter, who is in turn accused of the murder of Forsyde, but her innocence is revealed in a most dramatic scene.

The interest is well maintained throughout, and though the story savours somewhat of the *Family Herald Supplement*, yet it will serve to amuse an idle moment.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

We have been favoured by Dr. R. Needham Cust with a copy of his recently published *Essay on the Prevailing Methods of the Evangelisation of the Non-Christian World.*

This is by no means the first time that Dr. Cust has come forward as the candid—very candid—friend of missions;—so candid indeed that it is difficult not to mistake him for an enemy. In intention, however, we believe him to be as friendly as he professes to be. For our own part, though we fear all will not agree with us, we give credit to Dr. Cust's statement that he sends us his work "with the earnest desire, that the counsel and criticism offered may be accepted in the spirit, in which it has been written, of long, earnest, and single-minded devotion to the Great Subject."

The pity is that the whole volume is written in a tone which will prevent it from doing good. It is not much more than a collection of all the real or supposed mistakes which missionaries and missionary societies have committed in all lands and ages. There is scarcely an attempt to distinguish between the errors that have passed away and those that are still at work. There is scarcely an attempt to show how any one of the errors is to be corrected. Church history has been ransacked, at least from the seventh century downwards, to increase the long list of missionary mistakes. Petty failures in taste or in discretion on the part of individuals, are ascribed not to the men who have happened to be guilty of them, not even to the societies which such men have represented, but implicitly to the Church at large. It is as if a nation were to be collectively held responsible for every piece of selfishness and every indiscretion that could be charged against any member of it. Meantime, our search has been in vain for any principle put forward by the author as a hopeful means of remedying the evils which he points out so unsparingly. The impression left by the book as a whole is that the only cure is for missionary societies and their committees to invite and follow Dr. Cust's advice in every difficulty as it arises. To this—even after the admission of the underlying premise, that Dr. Cust's judgment never fails,—there would remain the obvious objection that unfortunately Dr. Cust is neither ubiquitous nor immortal. The only other approach we have discovered to a general suggestion for the guidance of missionary activity, is that Governments generally, but in particular the Indian Government, must be held to be always and in all points in the right. Now, we are no advocates for missionaries setting up as critics of the Governments they happen to be labouring under, or of their laying the blame on Government of everything that goes wrong with them. Yet to ask them to yield their own judgment to that of the State in every question that can conceivably arise, thereby transforming

every one who wields State authority, or at all events every Indian Civilian, *into an infallible little pope*, is to ask what there is no hope of ever being granted. It would not have been granted by the Apostles, and there is as little chance of its being granted in the nineteenth century as in the first. To state it is plainly a *reductio ad absurdum.*

Those who have not read this volume will probably suspect us of caricaturing it. It is however in sober seriousness that we express our inability to find even the proposal of a remedy in its pages for the innumerable faults of missionaries and missionary organizations, other than that of confidence in Dr. Cust and confidence in Governments; especially in the Government of India. Thus the plan of the volume appears to us to be radically wrong. Not by any means that missionaries and missionary societies are above criticism or above censure. They are by no means always in the right and by no means always wise. But to lump all kinds of mistakes and errors into one mass and not even to propound a scheme for rectifying them, is not a hopeful or a helpful style of criticism. Suppose Dr. Cust had been appointed to reform some department under that Government which he served—we believe so ably—and which he loves so well, he would scarcely have regarded himself as having done much, still less as having done all that was required, when he had made a huge collection of all the indiscretions, all the acts of disobedience, mistakes, defalcations, and exactions, of which the agents of that department had been accused from the day when it was first set up Yet this is the method he pursues in trying to set right the policy and action of organizations which have to deal with the most various and most difficult problems in almost every country in the world. Any attempt to reform even undeniable and admitted evils calls for such discrimination, such sympathy, such calmness of judgment, such allowance for the undisputed fact that even the wisest men are fallible, as there is scarcely a trace of in the present volume. A critic in whom qualities like these are conspicuously lacking is scarcely likely to win for himself so much even as a patient hearing.

Of course when a man of Dr. Cust's acknowledged ability runs a-tilt against everything connected with missions and their procedure, it is impossible that he should not hit many blots and say a good deal which friends of missions would do well to lay to heart. There are many things in his volume to which we heartily assent. For instance, he speaks admirably of the way in which it seems to be considered necessary for every missionary report to set forth everything in the most roseate hue. We confess, too, to not a little sympathy with the vigorous sentences in which he thus winds up what he has to say about 'Sensationalism'.

"What shall we say of cries from Westmoreland for one thousand men, echoed by a cry from Shanghai for one thousand for China only? When the

Armies of Nations are increased in this hasty way, the standard of height and fitness has to be reduced? If a thousand be called for why not ten thousand; It is a mere election-cry. Can the average of capacity of the men and women now sent out safely be reduced? The exaggerations, and sensationalism, and emotional transcendentalism, have grown up, since Mr. Venn, a calm and practical Statesman-secretary, laid down his pen. A historian remarked, that there were two classes of Nations in Europe, the robust like the Russian, the Teuton, and the Frank, who are masculine, and the Greek, Latin, and Iberian races, who are feminine in their emotional want of control, and their sanguine temperament. Can we not detect a large diffusion of the feminine element in the proceedings of the Home-Committees, and the labourers in the Field? but it is not the brave, dauntless element of the Female Evangelist, but the ill-considered utterances of the ignorant emotionalist."

In fact, scattered every here and there throughout the volume, there are passages which if they were only said in a different manner,—if their surroundings did not make them breathe out unsparing censure,—might do not a little good, because they point to errors which though not universal are sadly common and such as might be corrected by a *small development of the Christian spirit.* Thus *there are good re-*marks—too lengthy to be quoted here—upon the deficiency on the part of missionaries in "sympathy, and love, and feelings of justice to the Natives," and again on "ridiculing and speaking ill of non-Christian religions." Ridicule and evil-speaking are weapons which, as Dr. Cust forcibly points out, it is very easy but also very dangerous to employ. In India, perhaps even more than elsewhere, great harm has been done by the way in which such weapons were used by some in the early days of missions. Even yet, we fear, they are not quite disused. The missionaries of the coming generation are sure to learn how great a barrier has been raised against them by the way in which too many of their predecessors have abused beliefs and systems which they never took the trouble to understand. On this important subject Dr. Cust concludes his remarks with these true and telling words :—

"Ignorance and superstition, the result of long centuries of isolation, and absence of education, are indeed great barriers to the intelligible reception of the Gospel-Message, but they are only human barriers, and by God's Grace, working through the Love of the enlightened for their fellowmen in darkness, can be lifted up. The soul of Man opens to the teaching of his Divine Creator, as the sunflower opens to the rays of the sun; and no cavern is so dark, no human mind so clouded, that one ray of the divine light cannot pierce into it, if only those, who have for generations basked in the Light, leave off idle abuse, and do their duty to their God and their fellow-men."

The strangest thing in this strange volume is that one who sees so clearly as Dr. Cust the evil of random abuse and ridicule should give so forcible an example of the error which he so justly condemns. If

missionaries hinder their work by thoughtless and cheap abuse of creeds and systems which contain good as well as evil, so has our learned author secured that the very best of his advice will have little effect on those whom he seeks to benefit by his volume of indiscriminate censure.

THE flattering reception which some of the Indian delegates received at the Parliament of Religions cannot but have led many of their countrymen to form exaggerated conceptions as to the nature and extent of the influence which they exerted. That this has actually been the case in regard to Swami Vivekananda the demonstrations that have been held in his honour at various places amply testify. It was meet, therefore, that some one should call attention to some of the circumstances which actually determined the applause with which the speeches of many of the Indian delegates were received; and we would commend to the attention of our readers the paper on Swami Vivekananda contributed by the Rev. J. Hudson to the October number of the *Harvest Field.*

It is scarcely to be expected, Mr. Hudson says, that Hindus will realise to what an extent the interest excited by Swami Vivekananda was due to mere curiosity. His colour and his dress were objects of interest, he knew exactly how to pose with the greatest effect, and his suavity of manners and fluency in English made a favourable impression on his American audience. In dealing with his subject his main object seems to have been to present Hinduism in as attractive a light as possible. With this end he described the ideal Hinduism of philosophy, and threw the popular Hinduism of to-day entirely into the background. Those who had no previous knowledge of Hinduism would not gain any intelligent conception of it. For, says Mr. Hudson, while of what he said there is little that will bear careful examination, what he left unsaid would change the picture entirely.

Mr. Hudson then proceeds to point out with reference to several important doctrines of Hinduism the untrustworthiness of Swami Vivekananda's exposition. He shows the faulty nature of much of his reasoning and the misleading character of his language. The Swami represented the Hindu religious life as a constant struggle to become perfect, to become divine, to reach God, and see God; and, said he, "in thus reaching God, seeing God, and becoming perfect even as the Father in Heaven is perfect, consists the religion of the Hindus." But he did not fully explain what he meant by these words, which to a Christian have one signification and to an orthodox Hindu another and very different one. A more candid and complete presentation of what constitutes the religion of the Hindus would in Mr. Hudson's opinion have appeared much less attractive to the Christians of America than that which was actually placed before them.

Even more misleading was Swami Vivekananda's presentation of the popular Hinduism of the present day. He denied that it is polytheistic, and he sought to defend the idolatrous customs pertaining to it. He spoke of idolatry as the attempt of undeveloped minds to grasp high spritual truths. And in defence of his position he said he had seen among those who are called idolatrous men whose spirituality, morality, and love he had not seen elsewhere. Mr. Hudson does not seek to deny that there are many good Hindus, but he denies that their good qualities are the fruits of idolatry; and he says that when Swami Vivekananda defended idolatry as a help to spiritual worship he ought to have exhibited some of the grotesque and hideous images which Hindus worship, and to have read from the Puranas the history of these idols. But he omitted to do many things which he would have done if his object had been to give a true account of popular Hinduism. He said nothing, for instance, of the dishonesty and fraud, and the immorality that are connected with religion in this country—nothing, in particular, of the continuous misappropriation of temple funds that goes on.

In conclusion Swami Vivekananda extolled the wide charity of Hinduism. But here also he seems to have wisely kept silence in regard to Hinduism as it is met with in actual life at the present time. It was easy for him as a Hindu to say that all religions are only a travelling of different men and women through various conditions and circumstances to the same goal; but where, we would ask, is charity exhibited when Hindus—not the ignorant only—persecute and even seek to do to death the man who dares to break with the faith of his forefathers because he has discovered what he believes to be a better way to the wished for goal? Mr. Hudson suggests that the Swami would better have represented orthodox Hinduism if he had concluded as follows:—

"I have briefly sketched for your admiration a noble religious system. But do not for a moment imagine I wish you to accept it. I fear I must candidly tell you we have no place for you. Were you to come to India we could not admit you to our caste. If through curiosity you strayed into our temples, we should make you pay heavily for defiling them. You would not be welcome to our houses; though you might sit on our verandahs. We would rather die than take food with you. No extremity of thirst would make us drink water polluted by your touch. We would not let you draw from our wells. We would prefer not to shake hands with you, as additional ablutions must follow. We cannot let you join us on our path to bliss. But you need not despair. As I said, religions are merely different modes of travelling. There is a way for you as for the lower castes of India. We have had a road laid entirely for ourselves, and we speed on our journey by special express. But never mind. You will find a devious track through the jungle. There are no roads and no bridges, and your lumbering bullock carts will often come to grief. But it will be well in the end, and you will arrive at the end of your journey only a few thousand years after us."

It would have been a more hopeful sign for the future of religion in India if Swami Vivekananda had made it unnecessary for a Christian missionary to fill in the darker details of his picture; but, as Mr. Slater remarked last month, Christianity was the only one of the religions represented at the Parliament that was ready to criticise itself.

THE memorandum on the political situation in India, recently issued by Mr. B. M. Malabari, has attracted a good deal of attention both in this country and in England. This is well, for there are many things in the memorandum calculated to act as a corrective to the false notions concerning India that are so prevalent at the present time.

India, Mr. Malabari says, is becoming the problem of the age. The more one tries to know of her, he says, the less one seems to understand her. It is hopeless to unravel this live problem of humanity, and to follow its inner workings. The utmost one can do is to follow the tendencies seen to be at work. What tendencies, then, are to be observed? On one side, says Mr. Malabari, the great power of order and justice—proud, disdainful, stolid, but always making for righteousness and progress: on the other, the immense, unthinking, ever-suffering, easily satisfied, silent masses, shaken out of their slumber by occasional fits of religious hatred: between the two a small body of political reformers and imitators of the political methods of Europe, and a still smaller body of all-round reformers who place self-improvement before self-advancement. Mr. Malabari does not attempt to discuss the rights and the wrongs of each of these parties, but goes on to consider the grievances of India as a whole. Before doing so, however, he calls attention to a fact which many politicians fail to observe—the fact that the political and other differences that separate the north from the south and the east from the west in India are greater in some respects than the differences that separate any one country in Europe from any other. Coming, then, to the question, What are the real needs of India at the present time? Mr. Malabari says they are two. They are (1) financial justice, (2) political control more than political power. He deals with the second first, and begins by noticing the feeling of unrest that is coming over India, at all events as regards the towns and the cities, and as regards the educated classes and those who come in contact with them. He thinks there is nothing in this to cause alarm or even surprise. It is the natural outcome of the education of the last sixty years and the freedom of discussion which it has ushered in. Many of the lessons which education was meant to teach have as yet been very imperfectly learned; and the press, which is the mouthpiece of the educated classes, has hitherto done much more in the way of talking than of thinking. The majority of Indian writers, says Mr. Malabari, have yet to learn history. It is ignorance of history, he says, that accounts for

most of the extravagant utterances of the press and of the platform orator. He holds, however, that in spite of what they say, the educated classes know that they could not get on without England. He therefore calls on all concerned to dismiss at once the suspicion, if such exists, that the conductors of the Indian press are preparing to assume the supreme conduct of affairs.

Much the same view, Mr. Malabari says, may be taken of Indian political bodies, with the Congress at their head. Whatever other adherents of the Congress movement may say or do, the responsible leaders know their place and their chief function. The Congress, Mr. Malabari tells us, has no desire to usurp the reins of Government. He thinks it may yet prepare the way for true political progress, and holds that if the official classes were wise, they would see that the best way for them to curse the Congress is to bless it. The Congress, he says, would then cease to trouble, and there would be one cause the less for the prevailing unrest. This, it seems to us, is going beyond what is warranted by the facts of the case; but Mr. Malabari is undoubtedly right in cautioning the official classes against taking too serious views of the more extravagant utterances of the press and of platform orators, and against alarm at such occurrences as tree-daubing and racial riots. The tree-daubing, he says, is by no means a new thing in the history of India, though it is only recently that it has been taken so much notice of. With regard to the riots that broke out in several parts of the country last year, Mr. Malabari says that they had none of the political or the agrarian element in them, but that they arose solely out of religious fanaticism. They are an indication, he thinks, that the Hindus, slow in action but strong in numbers, are now beginning to assert themselves against the Muhammadans. Like the tree-daubing, they are nothing new in Indian history and therefore do not constitute a new danger. In Mr. Malabari's opinion they emphasise the necessity of outside control; and the only remedy for them is stern, even-handed justice between Muhammadans and Hindus.

As to the financial needs of India, we confess that we do not see the point of all that Mr. Malabari says on this subject. He speaks of a perpetual drain of India's resources due to a disregard of economic laws, and of the country sinking under the stress of financial injustice, but what he really means is, to us at least, by no means clear. His memorandum on the whole indicates that in his opinion the union of England and India has been for India's good, and yet he seems to imply that India is being unjustly treated because she has to pay for the men and the money without which the progress that has been made would have remained unaccomplished. The recent exemption of Manchester cotton goods from the new tariff appears to loom largely in his vision, and this perhaps colours too much what he says on the subject of finance. But he does not fail to point out that the people may very easily be led

to accuse the Government unjustly. They are slow to appreciate the benefits of railways, sanitation, education, and security of life and property, but quick to feel the burden of new taxation.

Mr. Malabari offers some general suggestions as to the way in which the various classes of the people ought to be treated by Government. The masses of the people, he says, should not have their necessaries of life taxed, and they should not be worried too much with new laws. The aristocracy of the land should be dealt with gently, and where justice requires, firmly. The educated classes should be treated sympathetically, and without harshness, even when they show themselves impatient of guidance and control. Their capacity for good, Mr. Malabari says, is infinite, their power for harm-doing less than is supposed.

In conclusion Mr. Malabari deals with what he calls the darkest phase of the Indian problem—the position of women. Till states and society alike realise the miseries of that position, there is, he says, little hope for lasting progress in the country. What is to be expected, he asks, of a nation whose mothers have to live in perpetual infancy—married in their early teens, often to become widows before they are out of their teens? "The women of India have really no existence apart from the men. Their life is one of dire dependence. And, as are the women, so, naturally are the men—dependent upon others for almost everything in life, without a career and without the resources for working out their own destiny." For this state of matters Mr. Malabari holds that the Government is to some extent responsible. It has lent the prestige of its own law to certain customs and usages of the people which but for such prestige would have died a natural death. He therefore calls upon the British Government and public to withdraw from a false position and show the way to true national reform in a matter which has been approached from many sides but has never yet been probed to the core. The marriage system of India, he says, is indeed her problem of problems. "The public life of a nation is but an elaboration of its family life. Where the latter is overshadowed by the presence of the child-wife struggling with premature maturity, or the spectre of the child-widow struggling with lifelong penitentiary widowhood, it is idle to expect justice, equality, freedom, or independence in the sphere of public affairs; idle, likewise, to expect due appreciation of these qualities in others."

We have before us a memorandum on the state of education among the Savaras, which is deserving of some notice. The writer is Mr. G. V. Ramamurti, assistant teacher in the Zemindari High School, Parlakimedi.

Among the tribes of forest and hill men in the Presidency of Madras the Savaras rank next to the Khonds, their number being considerably

more than half that of the Khonds. More than two-thirds of them are to be found in Ganjam: the rest are in Vizagapatam. They are Kolarians who have been cut off from their brethren in the north for so long a period that no trace of a tradition of their kinship now exists. Their condition, Mr. Ramamurti says, is one very far removed from civilisation; and contact with civilisation has hitherto tended to depress them. They are acquainted with the arts of cultivation, house-building, and cloth-weaving, but they are ignorant of the use of letters. Their social organisation resembles in some respects that of a Hindu village community. All their institutions, such as marriages, funerals, sales, mortgages, and succession are in a very primitive stage, each requiring the performance of elaborate ceremonies and sacrifices, and presenting in itself various aspects, religious, social, and political. The lay chief and the high priest of a village community jointly control the affairs of the community. Among the people there are scarcely any distinctions of rank. Their religion consists in propitiating two sets of evil spirits—those causing disease and those of departed heroes, who instead of inspiring them with love and hope keep them in continual dread of evil. Their ideas of morality are very rudimentary, but compared with the Khonds, who until lately offered human sacrifices, they are mild and humane. They are even more the slaves of custom than the Hindus. They are of a quiet and passive nature; and, so far as Mr. Ramamurti has been able to find out, they are loyal to Government. They are better treated than the pariahs by the higher castes of the Hindus, and are even made welcome in the houses of the Brahmans.

Education among the Savaras is practically non-existent. There have been schools in the hill-country where they live for many years; and the Hindus who have settled there have availed themselves of the benefits of these schools. But the aboriginal inhabitants for whose sake the schools were specially started have profited little from them. Mr. Ramamurti contends that this unsatisfactory result is due to the fact that in what has been done for the education of these tribes two important considerations have heen lost sight of. These are (1) that instruction should be adapted to the condition and needs of the community which is to receive it, (2) that instruction should be imparted through the medium of the vernacular language of the community. Mr. Ramamurti is also of opinion that the Savaras and tribes like them need to be stimulated to feel the need for education and encouraged by scholarships and in any other practicable way to strive to obtain the benefits which education can confer.

The memorandum concludes with a list of suggestions for improving the state of education among the Savaras. These suggestions seem to us to be on the whole well considered; and there is little doubt that good would result if something were done on the lines indicated in them.

But what likelihood there is of Mr. Ramamurti's suggestions being acted on in the immediate future we cannot tell. It may be that the Government is conscious of what ought to be done for the Savaras in the matter of education but cannot see its way to do it. It is well, however, that a subject like this should be brought to the notice of the public; and at a time when a good deal of interest is being manifested in the welfare of the pariahs it is right that the claims of the Savaras should also be borne in mind.

COLLEGE NOTES.

I DARESAY it may be of some interest if I mention, as I have done in former years, the number of students going up from the classes of the College to the various University examinations. For the Matriculation Examination the names of 121 have been sent in, and for the First Examination in Arts the names of 204. Last year the corresponding numbers were 116 for the former and 206 for the latter of these examinations. Practically of course the numbers for this year are the same as those for last year. In both years the size of the classes has been determined simply by the number for which it was found possible to afford accommodation and to make such other provision as is necessary for efficient instruction. The slight variation up or down depends merely on its having been found desirable to prevent a few less or a few more from going forward to an examination for which they were obviously not adequately prepared.

There is a real though not a great difference in the number of those who have applied for the Examination for the Degree. This year 348 students have sent in their names for some one or more of the three divisions of the B. A. Examination. This time last year the number I reported was 323. The difference arises chiefly, or entirely, from a somewhat larger number being in attendance at the classes for the different Science branches alone. In these classes,—though some of them also have been so full that admission has had in many cases to be refused,—there is not the same difficulty about providing room as in the English class, which is attended by the great bulk of the students belonging to the fourth year. It is a natural result, too, of the still recent changes in the University regulations for the Degree Examination that the number of those who, having already passed in the two language divisions, go up for the Science division alone, should be steadily on the increase.

I may further mention that of the 348 candidates going up directly from the fourth year's class, 126 mean to appear in all three divisions of the examination, 106 in two divisions, and 116 in one division only

These figures may perhaps not be absolutely correct. As applications for the B.A. Examination may be sent in up to the 1st of November there has not, when I write, been time enough to make a very minute analysis of the whole affair; but what I have just said is certainly sufficiently near perfect accuracy for any purpose that these Notes subserve.

For each of the three examinations there are also a very few candidates who, though to all effective purpose members of their respective classes, have yet found it necessary for one reason or other to obtain 'exemption', and who will accordingly appear as technically 'private students' if they are found fit to pass. The number of such is, however, in each case so small as to be practically unimportant.

I EXPECTED last month that I should have to make some intimation here concerning the arrangements for the next celebration of the College Day, but no notice about the matter has reached me yet. I know, however, that the Committee is steadily at work, and no doubt whatever intimations it desires to make will reach those concerned in sufficient time through some other channel.

WILLIAM MILLER.

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY JOTTINGS.

PROFESSOR VON HELMHOLTZ died at Charlottenburg on the 9th of September, at the age of 73. The news of his death must have caused a deep feeling of regret among all who are in any way interested in scientific work. He was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant men of science that the present century has seen. Most scientific men who have risen to eminence have done so by devoting their whole attention to some particular branch of science, but Helmholtz's genius was most versatile and he made contributions to mathematics, physics, physiology, psychology, and æsthetics which are all of the greatest value. While but a schoolboy he acquired a love of Nature. In an autobiographical sketch which he gave at the celebration of his seventieth birthday, he tells that "many a time when the class was reading Cicero or Virgil, both of which I found very tedious, I was calculating under the desk the path of rays in a telescope, and I discovered, even at that time, some optical theorems, not ordinarily met with in text-books, but which I afterwards found useful in the construction of the ophthalmoscope." When the time came for him to go to the University, he wished to take up the study of physics, but it was then looked upon as an art out of which there was little possibility of making a living, and so, following the advice of his father, he became a student of medicine in the Army Medical School.

Here he came under the influence of Johannes Müller, and was thus led to devote his energies to the study of physiology. In 1849 he became Professor of General Pathology and Physiology at Königsberg. While there, he invented the ophthalmoscope, and, as he says, "had the great joy of being the first who saw clearly before him a living human retina." By this instrument he substituted observation for conjecture in the diagnosis of diseases of the inner parts of the eye, and made it possible for oculists to perform operations with some degree of certainty. In 1859 he was appointed Professor of Physiology at Heidelberg, and in 1871 became Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Berlin. His researches on the eye and on vision are chiefly contained in his great treatise on *Physiological Optics*. Regarding this great work it has been pointed out by Clerk Maxwell that perhaps the most important service conferred on science by it consists in the way in which the study of the eye and vision is made to illustrate the conditions of sensation and of voluntary motion, Helmholtz's method being to employ all the resources of physical science so as to vary the nature and intensity of the external stimulus, and then to consult consciousness as to the variation of the resulting sensation. Another splendid example of the application of this method of analysis is afforded by his other great treatise on the *Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music.* In the department of physical science his most celebrated work is the book which he published in 1847 on the Conservation of Energy, by which he gave a very great impulse to the research by which this principle was established. He is also well known for his paper on Vortex Motion, "in which," to quote again from Clerk Maxwell, "he establishes principles in pure hydrodynamics which had escaped the penetrative power of all the mathematicians who preceded him, including Lagrange himself;" and for those papers on electrodynamics in which he reduces to an intelligible and systematic form the laborious and intricate investigations of several independent theorists, so as to compare them with each other and with experiment. His *Sensations of Tone*, and his *Popular Scientific Lectures* have been translated into English, and the latter was re-issued in a cheap form last year by Messrs. Longmans in their Silver Library, along with the autobiographical sketch referred to above.

The statements usually made regarding the proportion of carbonic acid gas in the air which is necessary in order to extinguish a candle flame vary so widely that Dr. Frank Clowes of Nottingham was led to undertake a thorough investigation of the whole subject. His method of experimenting was devised with a view to avoid errors arising from the incomplete mixture of the gas with the air, its solubility in water, and its formation by the flame during its combustion; and the proportions of the gas and air in the mixtures used were checked by analysis and

found to be accurate. Duplicate experiments were also made which were found to give results which agreed closely with the others. Dr. Clowes first of all proved that within very wide limits the extinctive proportion of carbonic acid gas was independent of the size of the flame. He then proceeded with his experiments to determine the minimum extinctive proportion of the gas for flames of various combustible substances, and found that he obtained very different results according as they were burned from wicks or from a jet.

In the case of flames burned from wicks, he found that the different combustibles he tested required a strikingly similar proportion of carbonic acid gas in the air for their extinction, the results for absolute alcohol, methylated alcohol, paraffin oil, mixed colza and petroleum, and a candle being 14, 13, 15, 16 and 14 per cent., respectively. Flames burned from a jet, on the other hand, gave results which varied widely, the minimum proportion of carbonic acid gas required for the extinction of hydrogen, carbon monoxide, methane, ethylene, and coal gas being 58, 24, 10, 26, and 33 per cent., respectively. Contrary to what might have been expected, these numbers show no relation to the volume of oxygen necessary for the combustion of the different gases. The flames burned from wicks behaved very differently from those burned from a jet during the process of their extinction, the former gradually diminishing in size until they disappeared, while the latter rapidly increased and at the same time became more and more pale until it was often so difficult to see them that the exact moment of their extinction could hardly be decided.

Dr. Clowes points out that the reason for this characteristic difference is that, although the extinction of both kinds of flames was primarily due to the lowering of their temperatures, this had the effect in the one case of diminishing the supply of gaseous fuel, so that the flame died because it was starved, while in the other case the supply of fuel was independent of the flame, so that it was simply because of the lowering of temperature that the flame perished. The extinction of the gas-fed flame would undoubtedly be hastened by the expansion and the consequent rapid cooling of its surface resulting from its effort to obtain an adequate supply of oxygen in the diluted air. Similar results were obtained with nitrogen instead of carbonic acid gas, the proportion necessary to secure extinction being, however, much larger. This is, no doubt, due to the fact that the specific heat of carbonic acid gas is so much greater than that of nitrogen.

THE International Congress of Orientalists held its annual meeting this year at Geneva during the month of September. Section I., which deals with India, was presided over by Lord Reay, with Professors Weber and Buchler as Vice-Presidents. In connexion with the discoveries made by Major Deane near the Punjab frontier of several new alphabets, possibly of Scythic peoples, Dr. Buchler remarked that we are probably at the beginning rather than nearing the end of our discoveries in the epigraphy of India and the immediately surrounding countries. A resolution was carried recommending measures for the preservation of the Aśoka inscriptions to the Government of India. "A short paper," writes the correspondent of the *Athenæum*, "was read by Dr. Pfungst on 'Esoteric Buddhism' which was denounced on all sides as 'ein vollständiger Schwindel', but the section declined to vote a formal resolution on a subject so far beneath the cognizance of scholars."

THE Welsh Eisteddfod, which annually affords to the so-called comic papers material for a numerous if somewhat feeble batch of witticisms, has now its counterpart in Scotland in the Mod that has been held in Oban in the month of September for the last three years. The object of the Association which arranges this annual gathering is to promote the cultivation of Gaelic literature and music and home industries in the Highlands, and to encourage the teaching of Gaelic in Highland schools. The Marquis of Breadalbane is the patron of the Association, and the Mod owes its existence chiefly to the enthusiasm of Lord Archibald Campbell. At the annual meeting in September prizes are given for original composition in Gaelic prose and poetry, and there are competitions in reading, reciting, and singing, and the proceedings terminate with a Gaelic concert given by the Association.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN AND CO. have just published a *Shakspeare Concordance* by Mr. John Bartlett, the compiler of *Familiar Quotations*. It is a large volume of nearly 2,000 pages, and the references in it are given to the lines as numbered in the Globe edition. The same publishers have also issued a complete edition of Tennyson in one volume. Hitherto the only complete edition has been one in nine volumes, for Lord Tennyson's latest poems are, of course, not to be found in the single volume edition published in 1889.

MESSRS. CHAPMAN AND HALL announce a new biography of Warren Hastings from the pen of Colonel Malleson. It will be in two volumes, illustrated with a portrait.

CHAMBERS'S *Concise Gazetteer of the World*, topographical, statistical and historical, will be ready shortly. It will form a stout but handy crown

octavo volume of between 700 and 800 pages. Special attention has been given to the etymologies and the origin of names. It will embody most of the geographical information to be found in the new edition of Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, but it will contain much also that is new.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the October number of the *Contemporary Review* Mr. Herbert Spencer gives a summing up from his own point of view of the controversy in which he has been engaged with Professor Weismann. Among those who follow a controversy to its close, not one in a hundred, he says, turns back to its beginning to see whether its chief theses have been dealt with. Very often the leading arguments of one disputant, seen by the other to be unanswerable, are quietly ignored, and attention is concentrated on subordinate arguments to which replies, actually or seemingly valid, can be made; and so the orginal issue is commonly lost sight of. Mr. Herbert Spencer seems to be of opinion that something like this has happened in the case of the present controversy; and that therefore a recapitulation of the whole case in brief is called for. His primary object is to recall certain leading propositions which, having been passed by unnoticed, remain outstanding; and in the second place he endeavours to show that in regard to such propositions as have been dealt with the replies that have been given are invalid. In addition to this he takes the opportunity of setting forth new evidence which has come to light since the controversy commenced—evidence which in his opinion many will think sufficient in itself to warrant a positive conclusion.

Mr. Herbert Spencer rested his position as against Weismannism on two main arguments. He denied the sufficiency of natural selection to account for the variations in the power of tactual discrimination possessed by different parts of the human body; and he affirmed the impossibility of explaining by natural selection alone the co-adaptation of co-operative parts. He now gives a brief summary of Professor Weismann's attempts to disprove his arguments; and the emphatic words 'No reply' occurring every now and then show what he thinks of them. He also deals with the collateral controversy concerning the origin of the neuters among social insects, which, he says, has very much obscured the primary controversy. In this connection he makes use of certain results arrived at by Professor Riley, late Government Entomologist of the United States. Here he accuses Professor Weismann of accepting a proposition without making sure that its terms were capable of being mentally represented; and in several places throughout the article he charges him with making unproved assumptions do duty for experimentally obtained evidence. He also complains of his opponent's involved statements and the elaborate nature of his arguments.

The new evidence brought forward by Mr. Herbert Spencer is derived from observations made by Professor Grassi on the food habits of two European species of termites, and from two papers by Dr. R. Havelock Charles on the differences between the leg-bones of Europeans and those of the people of the Punjab. In conclusion Mr. Herbert Spencer calls the attention of biologists to the importance of settling once for all the question of the inheritance of acquired characters. Wrong beliefs regarding this question lead to wrong beliefs about social affairs and to disastrous social actions.

Professor Jannaris contributes an interesting article on 'The English Version of the Lord's Prayer'. He claims a hearing on this subject from English readers on the ground that his native language is Greek and that he has spent his life in studying that

language, not only in its classical phase, but also, and more particularly, in its post-classical and modern stages. His paper is an attempt to answer the question, Is the English Version of the Lord's Prayer a faithful representation of the original as recorded in St. Matthew? The result of his examination of the Greek is that a faithful version into English of the Lord's Prayer would run somewhat as follows :—

"Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name—thy dominion come—thy (fixed) purpose be done: as in heaven, so too on earth. Give us this day our mere (or simple) bread, and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors theirs; and let us not fall into a tempter's snare, but deliver us from the evil one."

From this it will be seen that Professor Jannaris regards the words 'kingdom', 'will', 'daily', 'temptation' as unsuitable equivalents for the corresponding Greek words. What he says regarding the word translated 'daily' is especially interesting. This word, which appears for the first time in the Lord's Prayer, does not, he says, refer to time at all, but is a word coined, presumably by Jesus Himself, on the analogy of a certain word occurring in the Septuagint, and for the express purpose of contrasting with it. The learned interpretations that have been given of the word originated at a time when Biblical research had risen to a philosophical theology; and they are altogether incompatible with the severe simplicity of the Gospels. Professor Jannaris prefaces the discussion of his main subject with some observations on the time and circumstances in which the New Testament originated, and on the relation of New Testament Greek both to classical Greek and to the Greek of the present day. In many respects, he says, the Greek of the New Testament is more akin to modern Greek than it is to classical; and it is to a want of appreciation of this fact that many mistakes in translation have been due.

In an article entitled 'The Work of the Beer Money' Mr. John Rae gives a description of what has within the last few years been done in England by the County Councils for the promotion of technical instruction. The title of the article is explained by the fact that the funds employed for this purpose are derived from the additional taxation imposed by Mr. Goschen four years ago on beer and spirits. The huge mass of facts collected and lucidly displayed by Mr. Rae betokens a development in education which cannot but be productive of important and far-reaching results. One of the most striking facts brought to light by the efforts made within the last few years for the diffusion of technical instruction, is the startling illiteracy of the men and the lads who have passed the standards. Much of the time and money spent on technical education has been as good as wasted because those who came to the classes were often too ignorant to benefit from the instruction they came to receive. Inability to write and ignorance of arithmetic are subjects of great complaint. The effectual cure for this, says Mr. Rae, would be to extend the term of compulsory attendance, either at day or evening schools. But much could be done, he thinks, under existing arrangements; and greater facilities have been provided by the Education Department for the continuation of education at night schools. Another fact that has been brought to light by the experience of the last three years is the want of facilities for good secondary education. Mr. Rae deals with the alleged danger of the whole of the grants now available for technical instruction being appropriated for the exclusive use of secondary schools and therefore for the benefit of those who are able to take care of themselves; and shows that there is nothing in the facts to justify so wild an alarm.

Under the title 'East and West' M. Elisée Reclus contributes an interesting study in historical geography. He first seeks to determine approximately the line of separation between the two halves of the ancient world which best deserve the names of East and West. In doing so he leaves Africa out of account, because its development has been practically independent of that of the rest of the

world. He finds that the true line of separation between East and West is not the boundary between Europe and Asia but a line further East, or rather a broad zone, formed along its southern half of the desert tracts of Beluchistan and the mountainous regions to the north-west and north of India, and having for its northern half the low, arid, and sparsely inhabited regions that lie between the Obi and the Yenesei. Besides the continental parts of Asia that lie to the east of this line M. Reclus includes under the term East the islands and island groups that stud the Indian and Pacific Oceans; and under the term West he includes in addition to Europe and the rest of Asia the parts of Africa bordering on the Mediterranean and the whole of America.

Taking East and West in the senses indicated, M. Reclus says that in the ancient world, from the very beginnings of national life in the historic nations, as they are preserved to us in legends and annals, the distinction between East and West existed in full force. The evolution of humanity was worked out differently on the two sides of the dividing line, and every century increased the divergence of the two civilisations. At one time it seemed, says M. Reclus, as if the East were the privileged half of our planet, for history proves that, taken as a whole, the nations of the East had their period of real superiority. In these days the group of nations that has been included under the general name of Malay seems to have exerted considerable influence; and the people of Polynesia did much to extend the known boundaries of the world. But according to M. Reclus the geographical conditions of the Eastern world did not favour intellectual and political unification; and so in the race of civilisation the East was passed by the West, and time has but increased the distance between them. The West has shown that to a much greater extent than the East she possesses both the capability to advance and the power of recovery. To the West, therefore, M. Reclus contends, we must look for the influences and the forces that will mould and determine the future of the East, and break down the contrasts which at many points the East presents to the West. The opinion of M. Reclus on this important question is evidently very different from that which was held by the late Mr. C. H. Pearson.

'Our most distinguished Refugee' is the title of an article in which Edith Sellers gives a very interesting account of the career of Prince Kropotkine. A very chequered career the Prince has had; and he lives in quiet now only because he lives in England, an exile from his country, and far away from many for whom he cares. He has paid a heavy penalty for casting in his lot with those who toil, and, worst of all, he is held responsible for crimes which he has no power to prevent. His wonderful influence over men is well illustrated by an incident described in the concluding paragraph of the article under review.

Another biographical article is that in which Madame Belloc relates some of the more important incidents in the domestic life of the great scientist, Joseph Priestley. In 'Cabinet Counsels and Candid Friends' Mr. T. H. Escott reviews the political situation in England, with special reference to question of Liberal reunion. He expresses a very high opinion of Sir William Harcourt as a statesman and financier; and he gives what he calls a true version of the facts relating to the appointment of Lord Rosebery and not Sir William Harcourt as Mr. Gladstone's successor. Mr. Emerson Bainbridge writes on the eight-hours bill for miners and its economic effect, Mr. Cécile Hartog on the poets of Provence, and Mr. E. R. Spearman on French prisons and their inmates.

The first place in the *Nineteenth Century* for October is given to an article by Mr. St. Loe Strachey on Lord Rosebery. Parodying the arrangement of Mr. Arthur Wallace's book, *The Earl of Rosebury; his Words and his Work*, where the Prime Minister is treated under six heads such as 'The Man', 'The Radical', and so on, Mr. Strachey writes of 'The Seven Lord Roseberies'. The "multiplex personality" of the Premier is made up, he holds, of a number of "different individualities," furnished with

distinct and sometimes antagonistic opinions, and he calls each of them up in turn for public inspection. The essence of Mr. Strachey's article is that no one knows what convictions the real Lord Rosebery actually holds, and that the Premier has reached his present exalted position by his cleverness in party management and his success in 'placating' the conflicting interests within the Liberal Party. Real success is impossible with such a number of personalities. A man trying to rise into office may make his way by surrounding himself with different kinds of atmospheres, but a great statesman must have pronounced convictions. If he has not genuine convictions of his own those he expresses must at least be compact. Lord Rosebery's attempt to play so many different conflicting parts must, Mr. Strachey maintains, inevitably end in failure.

There are no fewer than five articles that deal more or less with matters oriental. Mr. R. Vasudeva Rau comes forward as an ardent champion of Islam. The title of his article is 'Did Omar Destroy the Alexandrian Library'? but the chief object of it is to show how tolerant the followers of Muhammad have been and how much they have been misrepresented. It is not usual to find ardent eulogies of Muhammadanism proceeding from individuals bearing the writer's name, but as the article is dated "Hyderabad, Deccan," its appearance is not so remarkable. One curious expression may be noted. All through his article Mr. Vasudeva Rau speaks of Muhammadans as 'a race'.

M. Nicolas Notovitch, the discoverer of the hitherto unknown Tibetan *Life of Christ*, will not most probably enjoy the perusal of Professor Max Müller's article on 'The Alleged Indian Sojourn of Christ'. M. Notovitch, according to his story, was while travelling in Tibet fortunate enough to have his leg broken and in consequence of that accident to be received into the monastery of Himis near Leh in Ladakh. While laid up there he discovered the Tibetan manuscripts, the translation of which has been given to the world in *La Vie inconnue de Jésus-Christ.* M. Notovitch had gone to Tibet in the expectation of finding a Buddhist life of Christ—and he found it. The manuscripts he has translated explain at once the similarities that have sometimes been pointed out between Christianity and Buddhism.

"There is . . . a gap in the life of Christ say from his fifteenth to his twenty-ninth year. During that very time the new Life found in Tibet asserts that Christ was in India, that he studied Sanskrit and Pâli, that he read the Vedas and the Buddhist Canon, and then returned through Persia to Palestine to preach the Gospel. If we understand M. Notovitch rightly this Life of Christ was taken down from the mouths of some Jewish merchants who came to India immediately after the Crucifixion. It was written down in Pâli, the sacred language of Southern Buddhism; the scrolls were afterwards brought from India to Nepaul and Makhada (*quære* Magadha) about 200 A.D., and from Nepaul to Tibet, and are at present carefully preserved at Lassa. Tibetan translations of the Pâli text are found, he says, in various Buddhist monasteries, and among the rest, at Himis. It is these Tibetan manuscripts which were translated at Himis for M. Notovitch while he was laid up in the monastery with a broken leg, and it is from these manuscripts that he has taken his new Life of Jesus Christ and published it in French with an account of his travels."

Tibet is an interesting and strange country, and not least interesting of its pecularities is the attraction it has for the discoverers of documents of doubtful authenticity. Ten years ago it was Madame Blavatsky and the epistles of Koot Hoomi, now it is M. Notovitch and the new Life of Christ. Professor Max Müller deals tenderly with M. Notovitch. He assumes that he is a gentleman and not a liar, although there are some weak points in his story that point to the second alternative being the correct one, and on that assumption points out to him how thoroughly he has been hoaxed by the waggish monks of the Himis monastery. As a postscript to his article the Professor gives part of a letter received just at the time he was writing from a friend at Leh. An extract from it will sufficiently show how worthy M. Notovitch is of being placed in the same

class with his countrywoman Madame Blavatsky.

"Yesterday we were at the great Himis monastery, the largest Buddhist monastery up here—800 Lamas. Did you hear of a Russian who could not gain admittance to the monastery in any way, but at last broke his leg outside and was taken in? His object was to copy a Buddhist Life of Christ which is there. He says he got it and has published it since in French There is not a single word of truth in the whole story! There has been no Russian there. No one has been taken into the Seminary for the past fifty years with a broken leg! There is no Life of Christ there at all! It is dawning on me that people who in England profess to have been living in Tibet and to have learnt there the mysteries of *Esoteric Buddhism* are frauds."

Mr. Ernest Hart in his article on 'Cholera and the Sultan' emphasises and illustrates the truth of his classic utterance that cholera is "a filth disease carried by dirty people to dirty places, and chiefly spread by polluted drinking water." India, he points out, is the hotbed in which originates all the cholera of the world. India therefore must be surrounded "with inspection stations and isolation hospitals so that the disease may always be stopped so soon as it has advanced the first step on the journey." As cholera is not contagious Dr. Hart does not believe in quarantine, which also can never be effectively carried out, but what he does strongly urge in addition to the greatest attention to the water supply is the immediate isolation of those who are attacked. Now one of the chief ways in which cholera spreads into Europe is through Arabia, carried by the pilgrims to and from Mecca. It is for this reason that the Sultan's name appears in this article. His cooperation with the Western powers is necessary if cholera is to be prevented from escaping out of India into Europe along the Mecca pilgrimage route.

'The Perilous Growth of Indian State Expenditure', by Sir Auckland Colvin, is a repetition of the protest he uttered when Finance Minister against the proposal to increase the military expenditure of India. It is impossible for those who have not studied the subject deeply to say whether Sir Auckland or the majority that overruled him is right, but even the most casual observer must sometimes see that there is a certain lavishness of expenditure in some departments that would not be found if a more effective control were exercised.

Mr. Edmund Mitchell eulogises 'The Chinaman Abroad'. He very justly points out the hypocrisy of those who profess to object to Chinese immigration on account of John Chinamen's vices, when it is really his virtues that make him an unwelcome visitor; his vices being very much the same as those of the people among whom he goes to live.

'A Trip to Bosnia-Herzegovina' is a glowing account by M. de Blowitz of a visit he paid to these provinces this summer. One has heard very little of these places since the days of the Berlin Congress, and it is interesting to learn that under Austrian rule they have been completely transformed. Thanks to M. de Kallay and his able coadjutors Bosnia and Herzegovina are according to M. de Blowitz to become in the very near future "a chosen corner of the planet," "the model State of the Balkans."

Professor Alfred R. Wallace offers 'A Suggestion to Sabbath-keepers'. It amounts to this that those who wish to keep the Sabbath in the manner required by the Fourth Commandment should see to it that the man-servant and maid-servant and the cattle should do no work. This may be made quite possible if the members of the family do all the house-work themselves on Sunday. It would be no breach of the Fourth Commandment for them do it, for to them it would not be their work but rather recreation. If this practice became general, Professor Wallace considers much would be done to alleviate the lot of those who at present have to work all the week round without enjoying any day of rest.

The other articles in this number are, 'Wagner at Bayreuth', by the Countess of Galloway; 'English Art Connoisseurship and Collecting', by Sir Charles Robinson: 'A Dialogue on Dress', by the Hon. Mrs. Chapman;

'A Scottish Vendetta', by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., M.P.; and 'The Farce of University Extension: A Rejoinder', by Mr. Charles Whibley.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October opens with a long article entitled "The Crimea in 1854 and 1894', by General Sir Evelyn Wood, G.C.B., V.C. A recent visit to the Crimea has led the writer to place on record his recollections of the siege of 1854-55, in which he was engaged in the capacity of midshipman in the Naval Brigade. The story he has to tell is full of interest,—fragmentary and in a sense trivial (as it is the nature of such recollections to be), but fascinating by its picturesque detail. As the hero of his youth, he mentions William Peel, third son of the famous minister and at that time in command of H.M.S. *Diamond*; a man of whose cool promptitude and serviceable courage he relates instances which go far to justify his admiration of him as "the bravest of the brave." The ground covered by the siege-operations is carefully described, and is illustrated by three full page maps.

Sir Evelyn Wood's article is followed by the second part of 'Side-Lights on the Second Empire', by Mr. William Graham. The previous article had brought the story of the Empire up to the death of De Morny. The present article notes that within a year of one another, Napoleon III. lost by death three of his most trusted servants—Morny, Mocquart, Walewski. Fleury, the one remaining hope of the Empire, was disliked by the Empress on account of his Liberal tendencies; and in 1869, after he had begun to show how much more than a courtier he really was, he was sent into honourable exile as ambassador of France to the court of St. Petersburg. With him, "the last prop of the Empire was taken away, the last man who could have combated the disastrous influence of Rouher upon the Empress and through her upon the Emperor, who, having lost Walewski and Morny, and growing old and infirm, fell now completely under the influence of Rouher and of the Empress, who in her turn was influenced by the priests." The failure of the Mexican expedition was a serious blow to French prestige. A still worse followed in the rebuff delivered by Prince Bismarck to French diplomacy at the conclusion of the Prusso-Austrian war in 1866. Had the insult been made the occasion of war with Prussia, Napoleon or his son might have been on the throne of France at the present moment. But it was pocketed as one that could be more conveniently avenged later on.

> "The attempt to avenge it later on was made, as all the world knows, four years later, when these same fools who dissuaded their Emperor from war when Prussia was weakened by a disastrous campaign, when France would have had the assistance of Austria, when South Germany was lukewarm; the same maniacs who objected even to the commission proposed by Drouyn de Lhuys to ascertain the military strength of France in 1866, bullied their poor, weakened, ailing, hesitating Emperor into hurling France single-handed, having alienated both Austria and Italy, against the full force of United Germany in 1870, marching as one man to the music of the 'Wacht am Rhein', marching with the full and glorious enthusiasm of an united nation, to the destruction of an immemorial foe."

Referring to the 'Correction' of his previous article that appeared in the September number of the *Review*, Mr. Graham states that he is in a position to prove that the *Morning Chronicle* was subsidised by Napoleon III. from 1856 to 1859; that in 1859 it was purchased for the Emperor, by whom it was carried on for three years, with Mr. Thornton Hunt as sub-editor, till 1860.

'Our Workmen's Diet and Wages', by Dr. Thomas Oliver, 'An Antiquarian Ramble in Paris', by Mr. Frederic Harrison, 'The Extermination of Great Game in South Africa', by Mr. H. A. Bryden—are all interesting, each in its own way. 'The Legislation of Fear', by Ouida is a discussion of the situation that is being brought about in Continental Europe by the prevalence of anarchist outrage. "The purpose of anarchism in its outrages," says the writer, "is no doubt to make all government impossible through terror, but they will prob-

ably only succeed in making through terror every government a tyranny." This tendency is nowhere more conspicuously seen than in Italy, where the spirit of reaction is at the present moment supreme, and where public opinion under the influence of terror is sanctioning on the part of the constituted authority the most unscrupulous invasion of the rights of intellectual and personal liberty.

'In Syria', by Mr. Frederic Carrel, is a descriptive account of the Syria of the present day. Syria seems to be like other oriental countries, not only in its profound conservatism religious and social; but also in its capacity (at least in certain sections of its population) for appropriating the material advantages of Western civilisation without receiving from it any deeper impress.

'Madagascar', by Vazaha, is a timely contribution to the understanding of the present state of affairs in that island. The 'foreigner' thus sums up the situation:—

"I should be inclined to hold that, after exhausting every possible delay, and their *répertoire* in this respect is extensive, the Malagasy rulers will refuse to accept such terms as have been published by the *Rappel*. The combined ambition, greed, and *amour propre* of the French will then render a campaign necessary, in the prosecution of which, and whatever season is selected, I expect that at least a hundred men will be slain by malarial fever for everyone laid low by a Malagasy bullet. If the affair is not exactly a military promenade the total defeat of the Hova power is inevitable. In fact, unless extraordinary blundering takes place, three months after the landing should suffice to plant the tricolour on the turrets of the Silver Palace. It may be that the Queen and Court will retreat towards the south, the capital being indefensible from an attacking army. This would facilitate the placing of a puppet prince upon the throne. And as pecuniary and dynastic reasons will probably prevail to prevent a force being despatched from the Imerina plateau to oppose the invaders *en route*, it is not unlikely that the constant news of their advance will cause panic, and lead to practical troubles, probably revolution, at the capital. It is even quite on the cards that the campaign will result in a bloodless walk-over."

The number closes with an article by Mr. Albert D. Vandam entitled 'A Pretender and his Family'. It is an attempt to account for the ineffectiveness that has hitherto characterised the pretensions of the House of Orleans. On more than one occasion, the princes of that family have to all appearance had the game in their hands; and they have nevertheless declined to take the one step that seemed necessary to ensure their success. The explanation is to be found according to the writer of the article, partly in a most unprincely clinging to the advantages of wealth and secured position; and partly in a certain reluctance to resort to the rough method of force for the purpose of compelling allegiance.

One day a French officer was describing the battle of Mentana to Napoleon III. "I made a prisoner, sire," said the narrator; "and he turned out to be an old acquaintance from the Boulevards. He was furious against Garibaldi for having imposed upon him the necessity of firing on his own countrymen in a foreign land, 'I am not an *émigré*,' said the prisoner, 'I would not have gone to Coblentz; I am a Frenchman from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot. If it were a question of fighting Frenchmen in the streets of Paris, I would not mind it. I would have no scruple to shoot down either the rabble or the Imperial Guards, for that would be civil war.' That's what he said, sire," wound up the Emperor's interlocutor. The Emperor nodded his head, and with his wonderful sphinx-like smile replied, "Your prisoner was right, it makes all the difference." The sons and grandsons of Louis-Philippe, in despite of their unquestioned bravery, tacitly professed their inability to evolve such subtle distinctions from their own consciousness or to act upon them, if suggested by others. The blood of their countrymen was as sacred to them in the streets of Paris as on the battlefield, and this, I fear, is not understood even by the most educated of French men. France in fact, has always been like the Brunhild of the 'Niebelungen'. She must be roughly handled before she will yield her love, and above all her respect.